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THE PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY OF JUNGAR TUVA

Talant Mawkanuli

Submitted to the faculty of the University Graduate School in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree
Doctor of Philosophy
in the Department of Central Eurasian Studies,
Indiana University

December 1999

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In Memory of my father, Mawkan Rakimbayuli (1929-1979)
and
to my mother, Biyshan Mukametzhankizi

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ABSTRACT

Talant Mawkanuli

THE PHONOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGY OF JUNGAR TUVA

This dissertation presents a comprehensive synchronic description of the phonological and morphological structures of Jungar Tuva, one of the Turkic languages of China. The presentation is based on extensive fieldwork with Jungar Tuva people in the Jungar-Altay region of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region of China. It is intended as a reference work for scholars of comparative Turkic and general linguistics, and also as a record for a language of endangered status. The research conducted for this dissertation is presented in the following way. Chapter 1 provides the geographic setting and the socio-historical context in which the language is spoken, with a focus on the state of endangerment of Jungar Tuva. Previous published material on the language is noted and the typological characteristics of Jungar Tuva are outlined. The nature and the sources of the data upon which the present analysis is based are described. Chapter 2 presents a description of the phonological system of the language. The description includes: Vowel phoneme inventory; vowel realization rules and allophonic variation; vowel harmony; consonant phoneme inventory; consonant realization rules and allophonic variation; phonotactics and morphophonemic processes. Chapter 3 characterizes both the structure of the words and the various parts of speech and other preliminaries which are distinguished in the language. Chapters 4 and 5 examine the morphology of nominal and verbal words respectively. To support further empirical work on Jungar Tuva two appendixes containing glossed data are included: Appendix A is an analyzed corpus of ten Jungar Tuva texts collected by author, accompanied by literal English translations and Roman transliterations, and Appendix B contains a lexicon.

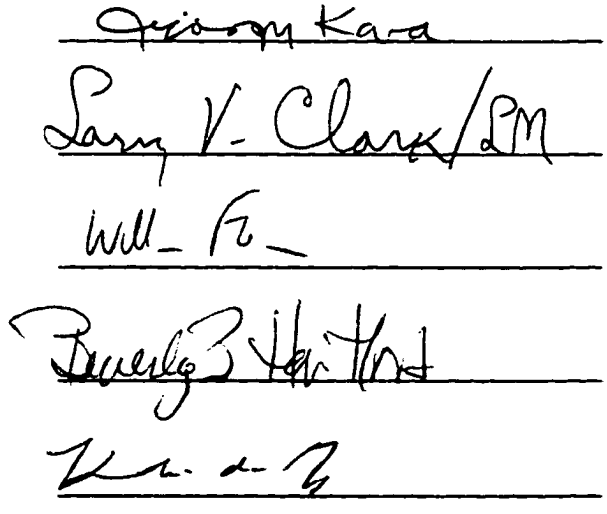

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Table of Contents

Acknowledgments v
Abstract vii
Lists of Tables xiii
Abbreviations xiv

Chapter 1. Introduction 1
1.1 The Tuva People 1
1.1.1 The Ethnonym Tuva 3
1.1.2 Historical Background 4

1.2 The Jungar Tuva Language 9
1.2.1 Typological overview of Jungar Tuva 9
1.2.2 Socialinguistic Context of Jungar Tuva 11
1.2.2.1 Linguistic Geography: Demographic Factors 16
1.2.2.2 Language Use 21
1.2.2.3 Language Maintenance 27
1.3 Objectives of This Studies 33

Chapter 2. Phonology 37
2.1 Vowels 38
1.2.1 Long vowels 44
2.1.2 Pharyngealisation 47
2.2 Consonants 49
2.3 Phonotactics 59
2.3.1 Syllable structure 59

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2.3.2 Morpheme structure 61
2.3.3 Word structure 63
2.3.4 Distribution of phonemes within the word... 63
2.3.4.1 Vowel distribution 63
2.3.4.2 Vowel sequences 64
2.3.4.3 Diphthongs 65
2.3.4.4 Vowel harmony 66
2.3.4.5 Consonant distribution 68
2.3.4.6 Consonant clusters 70
2.4 Stress 81
2.5 Morphophonemics 82
2.5.1 Elision 82
2.5.1.1 Vowel deletion 82
2.5.1.2 Consonant deletion 84
2.5.2 Contraction 84
2.5.3 Assimilation 85
2.5.3.1 Vowel harmony 85
2.5.3.1.1 Palatal vowel harmony 85
2.5.3.1.2 Labial vowel harmony 86
2.5.3.2 Consonant assimilation 87
2.5.3.2.1 Progressive assimilation 87
2.5.3.2.2 Devoicing 88
2.5.3.2.3 Regressive assimilation 89
2.5.4 Free morphological variation 90
2.5.4.1 Consonant alternation 90
2.5.4.2 Vowel alternation 90
2.6 Extrasystemic Phonology 91

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2.6.1 Loan words 91
2.6.2 Onomatopoeic forms 92
2.6.3 Exclamations and interjections 92
2.6.4 Animal calls 92
2.7 Orthography used for examples and texts 93

Chapter 3. Morphology 95
3.1 Word Structure 95
3.2 Word Classes 97
3.2.1 Parts of speech 97
3.2.2 Declinable word classes 99
3.2.2.1 Nominals 99
3.2.2.2 Verbs 102
3.2.3 Indeclinable word classes 103
3.2.3.1 Adverbs 103
3.2.3.2 Postpositions 105
3.2.3.3 Particles 108
3.2.3.4 Interjections 110
3.2.3.5 Conjunctions 111

Chapter 4. Nominal Morphology 113
4.1 Inflectional Nominal Morphology 113
4.1.1. Nouns 115
4.1.1.1 Number 115
4.1.1.2 Definiteness 118
4.1.1.3 Indefiniteness 118
4.1.1.4 Possession Marking 118

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4.1.1.5 Case Marker 124
4.1.2 Adjectives 134
4.1.3 Pronouns 136
4.1.3.1 Personal pronouns 136
4.1.3.2 Demonstrative pronouns 139
4.1.3.3 Possessive pronouns 141
4.1.3.4 Reflexive pronouns 141
4.1.3.5 Reciprocal pronouns 143
4.1.3.6 Interrogative pronouns 144
4.1.4 Numerals 144
4.1.5. Personal markers 147
4.2 Derivational Nominal Morphology 147

Chapter 5. Verb Morphology 157
5.1 Inflectional Verb Morphology 157
5.1.1 Personal markers 157
5.1.2 Tenses 162
5.1.2.1 Past.....162
5.1.2.2 Present 167
5.1.3 Aspects 171
5.1.4 Mood 173
5.2 Derivational Verb Morphology 178
5.2.1 Deverbal verb derivation 179
5.2.2 Denomenial verb derivation 180
5.3 Verbals 191
5.3.1 Infinitive 191
5.3.2 Participles 193

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5.3.3 Gerunds 194

Apendix A. Texts 197

1. The Altay Tuva. 198
2. The Clans of Jungar Tuva. 201
3. Distribution of Jungar Tuva. 203
4. Population and Movements of Tuvas in Akkaba. 206
5. My hometown - Akkaba 208
6. A Personal History. 211
7. The Tuva language 215
8. House Building 220
9. Personal History 228
10. Folktale: "Old Lady Dektene" 232

Appendix B. Lexicon 239

References 286

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Lists of Tables

Table 1: Ethnic Composition in three Tuva villages 2
Table 2: Ethnic Composition in Xinjiang....12
Table 3: Ethnic Composition in Altay Prefecture....18
Table 4: Phonemic Vowel System of Jungar Tuva 38
Table 5: Phonemic Long vowels of Jungar Tuva 44
Table 6: The contrast between short and long vowels....45
Table 7: Contractions of Vowels....46
Table 8: Minimal pairs of pharyngealized vowels....48
Table 9: Consonant phonemes of Jungar Tuva....49
Table 10: The contrast between front and back syllables....61
Table 11: Occurrence of word-initial vowels....64
Table 12: Occurrence of word-final vowels....65
Table 13: The possible sequences of vowels....69
Table 14: Possible clusters in word medial position....80
Table 15: Proposed Orthographic System....94
Table 16: The possessive markers 119
Table 17: The paradigms of possessive markers 120
Table 18: Case with possessive markers 122
Table 19: Case with 3 person possessive marker 123
Table 20: Case Inflections 125
Table 21: Examples of Case suffixes 126
Table 22: Personal pronouns 137
Table 23: Case marking of personal pronouns 138
Table 24: Case marking of demonstrative pronouns 140
Table 25: Case marking of reflexive pronouns 142
Table 26: Inflection of personal markers 158
Table 27: Personal endings with simple past tense 159
Table 28: Personal endings with conditional 160
Table 29: Personal endings with present-future tense 161
Table 30: Definite past tense 164
Table 31: Indefinite past tense 165
Table 32: Present-future tense 168
Table 33: Personal endings with conditional 176
Table 34: Optative-imperative....177

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Abbreviations

1.pl.	first person plural
1.sg.	first person singular
2.pl.	second person plural
2.pl.Imp.	second person plural imperative
2.sg.	second person singular
2.sg.Imp.	second person singular
3.pl.	third person plural
3.pl.Imp.	third person plural imperative
3.sg.	third person singular
3.sg.Imp	third person singular imperative
Abl.	ablative
Acc.	accusative
Act.	active
Adj.	adjective
Adv.	adverb
Aux	auxiliary
Be	the existential verb bar
C	consonant
Caus.	causative
Comp	comparative
Cond.	conditional
Conj.	conjunction
Cop	copula
Dat.	dative
Def.	definite
DerAdj	derived adjective
DerCaus	derived causative
DerNom	derived nominal
DerRefl	derived reflexive
Dem.	demonstrative
Fut.	future
Gen.	genitive
Ger.	gerund
Hab.	habitual
Imp.	Imperative
Inf.	infinitive
Inst.	instrumental
Inter	interrogative
Intr	intransitive
IO	indirect objective
L	liquid
Loc.	locative
Mod	modifier
N	noun

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Nam	name
Neg	negative/negation
Neg.Aor.	negative aorist
Neg.Cop.	negative copula
Neg.Exist.	negative existential
Nom.	nominative
NP	noun phrase
Num	numeral/number
Obj	objective
Ord	ordinal
P.pro	personal pronoun
Pass.	passive
Past.	past
Pl.	plural
Poss	possessive
Poss.Pr.	possessive pronoun
Post	postposition
PPart	past participle
Pred	predicate
Pr.Prog	present progressive
Pro	pronoun
Prog	progressive
Prt	particle
Q	question particle
Recip.	reciprocal
Rel.Cl.	reflexive
Rep	repetitive
Sg	singular
Sbj	subject
sg.	singular
SOV	subject-object-verb order
St	stem
Suf	suffix
Tr	transitive
V	vowel
Vb/v.	verb
VP	verb phrase
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
[ ]	phonetic transcription
/ /	phonemic transcription
{ }	morpheme
( )	optional
*	ungrammatical

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1. 1 The Tuva People

The Jungar Tuva language described in this study is a dialect of Tuva. Tuva in turn is a Turkic language spoken by slightly more than 200,000 speakers. Most speakers of Tuva are found in the Republic of Tuva within the Federated Republic of Russia (198,500 in 1989) and the rest of the Tuva speakers reside in the northwest of Mongolia (estimated 3,000 - 14,000, see Mamayon 1971: 41, 44; Mongush 1996: 229) and in the northwest of China (less than 2,000). The term Tuva also refers to a series of linguistically and culturally related groups and tribes who inhabit the large area on both sides of the Yenisei River (Ulug-Xem in Tuva).[i]

Jungar Tuva is spoken in the Jungar-Altay region of the Altay Prefecture, Ili Kazak Autonomous District, Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region of China.[2] The Jungar Tuva live around Lake Kanas in the Altay Jungar region roughly between 47° and 50 ° north latitude and 85 ° and 91 ° east latitude. Kazakstan lies to the west, Russia to the north and Mongolia to the east. Northeast are the Altay mountains, south the Ertis River and west the Kaba River. In the 17th century, large numbers of Altay Tuva migrated in all directions, establishing sizable communities within the Altay Jungar region, much of whose ancestral territory also is home to migrating Kazaks and Mongols.

---

[i] E.g. the Tuba sub-group of the northern Altay people; cf. Baskakov 1965,1966.

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There is no accurate survey of the total number of Jungar Tuva speakers, because the Tuvas have been included in official Chinese census counts as part of the Mongolian nationality. Various independent counts of the number of these Tuva were made after 1980, when Chinese linguists became interested in the Tuva language in China. In 1981, Song estimated their number at 1500 (Song 1981:1), whereas Chen and others placed the figure at 2,300 (Chen 1994: 39). Tuvas are distributed mainly in the following localities of the Altay Prefecture of Ili-Kazak Autonomous District: the Akkaba village of Kaba County, the Kanas village and Kom village of Buwirshin County and the Temek village of Koktogay county. In addition, a small number of Tuva live scattered in the Koktogay County Town, Buwirshin County Town and in Lamajao village of Altay County of the same prefecture. According to a field survey made in 1987, the number of Tuva is more than 1500 but less then 2000 (see Table 1).[3]

Table 1: Ethnic Composition in three Tuva villages

Population	Akkaba Village	Kanas Village	Kom Village
Total	723	688	944
Jungar Tuva	387	397	692
Mongol	72	148	17
Kazak	236	98	222
Hui (Dongan)		21	
Telengut	28	24	13

[2] The present Chinese official administrational institutions in Xinjiang are in order of ascending size: *kɪstak* (Cun)'small village', *awɪl* (Xiang) 'village', *awdan* (Xian) 'county', *aymak* (Diqu) 'prefecture', *oblɪst* (Zhou) 'district' and *rayon* (Qu) 'region'.

[3] This data was collected during our linguistic fieldwork in 1987 and cited in Chen, 1995: 40. Also see the section "Linguistic Geography" in this chapter.

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1.1.1 The Ethnonym Tuva

The ethnonym "Tuva" was recorded in Chinese annals of the Sui and Tang dynasties as well as in Mongol sources such as the "Secret History of the Mongols", where it appears variously as *Tu-po*[4], *Tu-pa*[5], Tuba[6] and in modern Chinese history books as *De-wa* , *De-ba, Tu-ba* and *Tu-wa*. This name with its variants is the basic ethnonym of all modern Tuva, although other names are used.

The Tuva, who call themselves the Tuva (Dıba) or Monchak and who were known historically as the Soyons, Soyots, or Uriankhais, are a small ethnic group who live in a large area on both sides of the Yenisei River (Ulug-xem). The Tuvas, like many of the Turkic-speaking peoples of south Siberia, are descended from Turkic and Turkified Kettic and Samoyedic tribes.[7]

Some Jungar Tuva speakers identify themselves with their place of settlement, the Altay mountains, and therefore call themselves Altay Tuva. However, if we were to apply the term Altay to their language then it would be confused with the name of the Tuva who live on the other side of the Altay mountains in the State of Mongolia, and who also call themselves Altay Tuva. In this work, the name Jungar Tuva is selected to avoid this confusion. Most speakers of Jungar Tuva prefer to call themselves /dıba / 'Tuva' and their

---

[4] Bei shi, juan (volume) 99, cited in He 1988:36, in Chen 1994:39, in Chen P. 1980: 49, in Kang 1994 :59 and in Su 1985: 41; *Sui shu,* juan 84, cited in He 1988: 36, in Chen 1994:39, in Chen P. 1980: 49, in Kang 1994 :59 and in Su 1985: 41.

[5] *Tong dian,* juan 199, cited in He 1988:36; Xing Tang shu, juan 217, cited in He 1988:36, in Chen 1994:39, in Chen P. 1980: 49, in Kang 1994: 59 and in Su 1985: 41.

[6] Secret History of the Mongols, chapter 9, cited in cited in He 1988:36, in Chen 1994:39, in Chen P. 1980: 49, in Kang 1994 :59 and in Su 1985: 41; *Sui shu,* juan 84, cited in He 1988: 36, in Chen 1994:39, in Chen P. 1980: 49, in Kang 1994 :59 and in Su 1985: 41. In this source, it appears as Tubas-I, which is the plural form plus the accusative of Tuva.

[7] For detailed references to the ethnonym and name Tuva, see Chen P. (1980), He (1988), Mannay-ool (1981,) Dulzon (1971), Savinov (1973), Su (1985), Tatarintsev (1990), Taube (1994), Vainshtein (1980).

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language /dıba dili/ 'Tuva language'. Tuva also is the name of the common Tuva language, which includes all the Tuva dialects spoken in northwest China and Mongolia, as well as in the Tuva Republic of Russia. This term has been preserved by all speakers of this language and its dialects today.

Kazaks and Mongols call the Jungar Tuva Dıba, Kök Monchak (blue button) or Urangkay.[8] In the author's experience, Monchak is an offensive term, even though some Jungar Tuva still use it. When asked what the name of their language is, such speakers typically have trouble responding, and may answer either /dıba/ or /mončaq/. The name Uriangkhai is an old social and ethnic term with a long and complicated history, Mongols generally apply this name to the various Turkic and Mongolian inhabitants of the Altay, Tuva and western Mongolian regions, but it does not identify any language spoken there (see Okada 1986/87).

1.1.2 Historical Background

The origin of the Jungar Tuva is an unknown chapter in the history of the Tuva people of south Siberia. Only oral traditions refer to them moving from Siberia to their present location, fighting their way against Oirat Mongols as far as the Kanas area of the Altay. The original center of the Tuva was the region west of Baikal.[9] Little is known of their former life, except that the Tuva were mainly hunter-gatherers and nomadic pastoralists

[8] Urangkay is a Kazak spelling. In Mongolian spells either Uriankhai or Uriyangkhai.
[9] For a detailed study of the now sadly neglected cultural heritage of the Tuva, the reader is referred to works by (Alatalu 1992, Clark 1997, Ewing 1981, He 1988, Potapov 1964, also Vainshtein 1961, 1980).

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who practiced some cultivation. Now they are subsistence farmers with animal husbandry and some hunting.

The designation "Tuva" is widespread in south Siberia and there is a close interrelationship between the different ethnic groups who bear the same name. The Tuva are of mixed origin, although they are basically Turkic peoples who assimilated some local Samoyedic and Yenisey peoples. The Tuva first emerged from the process of ethnogenesis into an identifiable cultural group by the early eighteenth century. They were divided into two primary groups. The Tuva proper, who constitute the majority of the nationality, live in the steppes and mountain steppes of central, southeastern, southern, and western Tuva. The eastern Tuva, also known as Tozha, inhabit the taiga-steppe zones of eastern Tuva, primarily in Tozha district and the upper Kaa-xem river basin.

The process of Tuva ethnogenesis was assisted by the geography of Tuva. As noted above, Tuva, which is located in south-central Siberia, sits on the northwestern border of Mongolia. Tuva consists of a series of high mountain valleys at the headwaters of the Yenisei river, with rugged mountains cutting the region off from the rest of Siberia and Mongolia. The upper Yenisei River valley is characterized by three distinct economic life styles. Most of the component groups lived in the steppe and mountain-steppe regions of Tuva, where they practice nomadic pastoralism primarily with sheep, goats, cattle and horses. The groups living in the mountainous forests make their living by hunting and herding reindeer. Those living in the high forests and meadows are more likely to support themselves by raising horses and cattle, as well as by hunting. The Tuva economy still reflects those divisions (see Vainshtein 1980).

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The territory of the present Tuva came under the rule of the Turk Khanate in the sixth century AD, and it was in turn conquered by the Uygurs in the mid-eighth century and the Yenisei Kirgiz in the mid-ninth century. The Mongols controlled the region from 1207 to 1368, when a series of Chinggisid Mongolian rulers established dominance there. Chinggisid Mongolian states next dominated the area until the sixteenth century when it was ruled by the Khotgoid Mongols. The Jungar Mongols incorporated the region into their empire in the last half of the seventeenth century, and following their defeat by the Manchus in 1758, the entire region was incorporated into the Manchu Chinese Empire. After the Treaty of Peking between Russia and Manchu China in 1860, trade relations arose in the region, and a small colony of Russian settlers developed. By the early twentieth century there was a Russian colony in what was known as the Uriankhai territory, a name that had been applied to this region since the Mongol empire (see Ewing 1981).

Until 1911, the Tuva region was politically part of Mongolia, which was controlled by the Manchu Chinese Empire. In the aftermath of the Chinese Revolution of 1911 this region was in turmoil and in 1914 the Russians were able to take advantage of the situation to establish a protectorate there. Although Tuva declared its independence from China in 1912, a tripartite agreement in 1915 between China, Russia, and Tuva left the region autonomous but still within Peking's sphere of influence. During the Russian Revolution and subsequent civil war, control of Tuva frequently changed hands between various Red and White armies. When the dust settled after the Revolution, the Tannu-Tuva People's Republic was established in 1921 as an autonomous state under Soviet sovereignty. In 1944, the Soviets dissolved the Tuva People's Republic and incorporated

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the area within the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic as the Tuva Autonomous Oblast. In 1961, it became known as the Tuva Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (Alatalu 1992, Mongush 1993).

As for the historical background of the Jungar Tuva, they are composed of several splinter groups that comprise the main body of the Tuva people. There are different versions of the appearance of the Tuvas in the Xinjiang Altay region. S. M. Abramzon believed that a small group of Tuvas who belonged to descendants of the Yenisey Kirgiz was taken away by Jungars from Yenisey to Xinjiang at the beginning of the17th century (Abramzon 1961). However, in all probability, the Jungar Tuva were part of the original body of Tuva who were arbitrarily separated by political borders established by the Russians and Manchus in the 18th century (cf. Mongush 1996b).

In the early Manchu (Qing, 1644-1911) period, the people of Inner Asia were divided into a number of different linguistic, tribal, and military-administrative units. Most of the Turkic and Mongol peoples in these units shared a nomadic pastoral lifestyle, in which the main activity was the raising of livestock. During the 17th and 18th centuries when the Manchus were taking the Jungar Mongols into their empire, considerable changes were introduced into the organization and administration of the Jungar-Altay region.

The important group of Mongols in this region were the Oirats who formed the Jungar Empire. By the late seventeenth century, the Oirats were distributed over a vast territory, from the Alashan mountains in modern Tibet Autonomous Region (PRC) to as far as the present Kalmyk Republic in European Russia --- a great stretch of land which included all Jungaria, the entire western portion of the modern Republic of Mongolia and

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part of Tannu Tuva. After the Manchus conquered this region, they organized the Oirats, along with the Jungar Tuva and other peoples of the region, into a 'banner-arrow' system of administration (Okada 1972, Miyauski 1984).

In 1760 ~ 1770, the Manchus divided the peoples of the region known as Uriankhai (Jungar-Altay-west Mongolia) into Seven Banners which were further divided into left wing and right wing. The Mongol and Turkic groups in the Altay were called the Altay Uriangkay Seven Banners. The left wing of this group consisted of four banners (*koshuun*): Berese, Ak soyan, Kara soyan, and Meyren. These four banners were further subdivided into arrows (*sumuns*). Today, the Jungar Tuva who were in these units are mainly distributed in Altay county, Kaba county, Buwirshin county and the Koktogay area. The Right Wing of the Seven Banners consisted of three banners: Berese, Kokmonchak, and Sarin. These were further subdivided into arrows whose modern Jungar Tuva descendants live, especially in Kom-Kanas, Akkaba and Kanas in Kaba and Buwirshin counties (cf. He 1984, 1988; Chen 1994).

1.1.3 Origin of the Jungar Tuva

Although it is difficult to fix precisely the origin of modern settlements of Jungar Tuva within the old banner system, it is possible to briefly describe the history of each of these settlements using some historical sources as well as some of their historical legends.

The Kanas area is regarded as the original homeland and cultural center of the Jungar Tuva by the people themselves and by Chinese scholars. There, the language is less subject to external influences, and kinship ties and traditional life are still strongly

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maintained. Most Jungar Tuva in the Kanas region practice small-scale hunting, animal husbandry, and very small-scale agriculture. The Tuva living in other areas like Altay, or Chinggil are much more subject to Mongolian influence, often embracing Buddhism, abandoning their patrilineal names and allowing contact with their Kanas cousins to lapse. Some Tuva also settled in the urban area of the Kanas and Buwirshin counties, which has resulted in an attenuation of both their linguistic 'purity' and their cultural ties with the Kanas group.

1.2 The Jungar Tuva Language

1.2.1 Typological overview of Jungar Tuva

As mentioned above, Jungar Tuva is a dialect of Tuva, which is a member of the Turkic language family, a large group of languages spoken throughout Central Eurasia. Attempts at classification of the Turkic languages have been ongoing for over a century. There have been a number of different proposals and hypotheses over the years, arguing for different relationships among and within the branches, as well as for the inclusion and exclusion of various languages and groups of languages. The most widely accepted classification places Tuva and its dialects, along with Tofalar, within the Old Uygur group of the eastern division of the Turkic family (Baskakov 1969: 313-349). According to all previous scholarship, Tuva is most closely related to Shor, Khakas, the northern group of Altay, and Yakut (see Tekin 1989). The external genetic relationships of the

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Turkic family remain controversial, although some scholars claim that it belongs with the Mongolian and Tungus languages in an "Altaic" family.

As a general introduction, some of the most significant features of the phonology, and morphology of Jungar Tuva grammar may be cited here, although these topics are dealt with more extensively in the appropriate chapters of the grammar.

In the phonological system, Jungar Tuva has an opposition between short and long vowels, but not between these and pharyngealized vowels as standard Tuva. There are nine short and eight long vowels. Vowel length is distinctive although long vowels occur relatively less often. Vowel harmony based on the distinctions frontness-backness and roundness-unroundness is a characteristic feature of all Tuva words. Palatal harmony is strictly observed (a word has only front or only back vowels) whereas the labial harmony is less strictly observed (a word has only rounded or only unrounded vowels), and is usually disregarded beyond the third syllable of a word.

The basic syllable structure is (C)V(C). There are consonant clusters composed of two consonants word-finally but not word-initially. There are two sources for these clusters: they are derived either historically or synchronically by addition of suffixes or enclitics to a consonant-final stem.

The basic morphological unit is the root, usually consisting of one or two syllables. Two kinds of elements can be added to the root: suffixes (derivational and inflectional) and enclitics. Both types of suffixes are monosyllabic. Derivational suffixes form new words from existing words. Inflectional suffixes express case, number, person, tense and mood. Nominals and verbals may be clearly defined in Tuva by morphological

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structure. Certain nominals like adjectives, adverbs and postpositions may be defined in syntactic terms.

1.2.2 Sociolinguistic Context of Jungar Tuva

The Jungar Tuvas are one of a number of peoples with miniscule population of the PRC who are trying to maintain themselves within an overwhelmingly Han Chinese environment as well as the powerful influences of Kazak and Mongolian. Moreover, in an even more local context, the Jungar Tuvas are the smallest or very nearly so among the nationalities of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region (XUAR). Both the people and their language face the same threat of immersion within these greater entities. Faced with such challenges, it is important to ask how the Jungar Tuva use their language and what strategies they follow to maintain it.

In the PRC, there are a wide variety of ethnic and linguistic groups who are different from each other and from the main ethnic group of Han Chinese. Most of these have not been assimilated into the Han Chinese ethnic group and, therefore, are called the national minorities. According to the 1990 census there are 55 minorities comprising a total of 90,200,314 people,[10] who are presently recognized as distinct nationalities by the Chinese government based on linguistic, historical, and religious factors. Many of these minorities as well as the Han Chinese co-exist in Xinjiang, which is a multilingual, multiethnic and multicultural region. According to the Chinese government, there are 13 main ethnic groups which live in Xinjiang: Uygur, Chinese, Kazak, Hui, Kirgiz, Mongolian, Shibe, Tajik, Uzbek, Tatar, Manchu, Daur, and Russian.

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Table 2: Ethnic Composition in Xinjiang[11]:

Population	Xinjiang Region	Ili Oblast	Altay Prefecture
Total	16613500	3621488	549867
Uygur	7800038	577758	10179
Han Chinese	6318114	1610714	233562
Kazak	1237706	948474	276884
Hui (Dongan)	747608	294966	18791
Kirgiz	157828	17130	74
Mongol[12]	152844	66090	5327
Shibe	38211	31688	76
Russian	8971	4601	379
Tajik	38211	113	0
Uzbek	13291	5025	253
Tatar	4652	2462	1261
Manchu	19936	4118	246
Daur	6147	5517	8
Others	69943	52832	2827

Source: Xinjiang Nianjian, 1996: 67-68

[10] Source: Guojia Tongjiju Renkou Tongjici (1993)

[11] Chinese population figures only count those officially registered as residents in a given region. Unregistered residents make up a substantial part of Xinjiang's population and the most of them are Han Chinese (with some Hui). If the unregistered Han are added to registered residents, then they are by far the majority of the population (Mawkanuli 1995).

[12] Tuvas were included in this official Chinese census counts as part of the Mongolian nationality.

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Although many ethnic groups share a common linguistic or religious heritage to a certain degree, each of them has its own distinct language and cultural practices. The languages spoken in Xinjiang mainly belong to three different language families: Altaic, Sino-Tibetan and Indo-European. The Uygur, Kazak, Kirgiz, Uzbek and Tatar speak languages in the Turkic branch of the Altaic family[13]. The Mongol and Daur speak languages in the Mongolian branch of Altaic group, while the Manchu and Shibe speak languages in the Manchu-Tungus branch of the Altaic language family. There are only two linguistic ethnic groups of Indo-European languages in China and both of them are found in Xinjiang. These are the Tajik who speak a language of the Iranian branch and the Russian. The Hui and Han Chinese speak Chinese which belongs to the Sino-Tibetan group. (Mawkanuli 1994, Ramsey 1987)

The official languages of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region are Chinese and Uygur. The Kazak language is the official language of Ili Kazak Autonomous Prefecture. Chinese, Uygur, Kazak, Kirgiz, Mongolian and Shibe are written languages. The Uzbek and Tatar are small in population and live in close proximity to other Turkic people, such as the Kazak and Uygur. Therefore, they are linguistically assimilated and practically no one uses these two languages. The Hui and Manchu speak Chinese.

The Jungar Tuvas face an almost insurmountable task in using and maintaining their language, because they are not recognized by the Chinese government as one of the nationalities of the PRC. In other words, on official levels, they do not exist as a people. The reason that the Jungar Tuvas did not gain nationality status in the PRC has a historical origin that can be traced to the Manchu or Qing dynasty.

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[13] The genetic unity of the Altaic and Sino-Tibetan families is currently disputed. I have used these terms here only for convenience in analysis.

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As late as the early 20th century, the region of the Altay where the Jungar Tuva live was part of a larger area known under the name of Uriyangkhai, a term that goes back to the time of Chinggis Khan when this area became the patrimony of the Uriyangkhai tribe which supported his rise to power. During the Manchu dynasty, this area encompassed all of the modern Tuva republic and parts of western Mongolia and of the Altay region of Xinjiang. Peoples within this area were called Uriyangkhai, regardless of their ethnic or linguistic affiliation, so that both Turkic-speaking and Mongol-speaking groups often bore the name.

In the 18th century, those Uriyangkhai in the Jungar basin region of this area (that group which forms the Jungar Tuvas of today) declared themselves Mongolians to avoid oppressive treatment at the hands of the Manchus and to enjoy the favored status of the Mongolians who were the allies of the Manchu court (Heberer 1989:38). Moreover, pressures existed that forced some of these Tuvas to assimilate to Mongol in culture and in language. For example, an informant of an Akkaba clan related the legend that in the 18th century the Tuvas of the region were ruled directly by a Mongol prince named Taywen Gong, who introduced the regulation that no one could be a member of his banner who did not speak Mongolian, and questioned those speaking Tuva in the following way: "If you are Mongolian, then why are you not speaking Mongolian?"[14] This regulation forced many of the Tuvas to learn Mongolian. As a result of this and other factors, their administrative status as Mongolians remained in place into the middle of the 20th century.

After the communists gained power in China, one of the first steps of the new government was to take stock of the peoples within its borders, essentially those

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established by the Manchus. Large-scale projects to survey the languages and social histories of nationalities were undertaken in the 1950s, and it was during this work that the Jungar Tuvas were "discovered" to be for the most part a Turkic-speaking people.[15] Nonetheless, they continued to be designated Mongolians in official circles.

Beginning in 1979, and especially in the early 1980s, representatives of the Jungar Tuva people began to appeal to the Chinese government to recognize Tuva as an official nationality of the XUAR.[16] The regional Party Committee instructed the Regional Nationalities Affairs Commission to establish a research group comprising members of the Nationalities Research Institute, History Research Institute and Literature Institute of the Xinjiang Academy of Social Sciences as well as the China's Languages Department of Xinjiang University (XSKYMS: 1985). This research group was further subdivided into three subgroups: nationality subgroup, history and religion subgroup, and language subgroup. The task of all three was to survey the languages and social histories of all the peoples of the Altay region, including the Jungar Tuvas, in order to define their nationality status more clearly. Most of the scholars in the research group proposed that Jungar Tuva should be granted a nationality status.[17] However, ultimately, this research group recommended against according the Jungar Tuvas nationality status for two reasons:

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[14] Solungo, personal communication 1995.
[15] For a detailed discussion of this, see Song 1992 and the "Objective of This Studies" section in this chapter.
[16] Solungo, Sendish Ergin-ool, and other representatives of the Tuva community; personal communication 1995.
[17] Chen Shi, Kidirkan, Ma De-yuan, personal communication 1985. Based on their field research, He Xing-liang (1984: 4) and Song Bei-hai (1983: 49) proposed that Tuva should have a nationality status.

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1. Strong weight was given to the view of the regional Mongol official who thought that the official status of Mongols in Xinjiang would be jeopardized if they were further divided or weakened in numbers.[18]

2. The argument was made that the Jungar Tuvas were in a transitional process, as shown by the fact that a group of "Uriyangkhais" in the same Altay region also used to be Tuvas but, after living with Mongols for a long time, had lost their own Turkic language and now considered themselves to be Mongols. This process was claimed to be happening to the remaining Jungar Tuvas as well, and so it was not certain that they would exist as a distinct nationality in the future (see Story 8 in Chapter 4).[19]

As a result of this research group's recommendation, the Jungar Tuvas failed to gain nationality status.

1.2.2.1 Linguistic Geography: Demographic Factors

This lack of official recognition of their status as a distinct nationality has presented the Jungar Tuvas with formidable challenges in regard to preserving their identity and maintaining their language. An additional challenge naturally arises when demographic factors are taken into consideration.

Reliable figures on the number of the Jungar Tuvas are not available, but various estimates have been offered. According to He, the number of Uriankhai is about 4000 (1984: 3) and Tuva speaking Uriankhai are more than 2000. According to Song, the

[18] Baday, of a Mongol nationality, who was then a member of the standing committee of Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region's Communist Party argued strongly against the idea of giving the Jungar Tuva a national minority status.

[19] Solungo, personal communication 1995.

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number of Tuvas lay between 1,000 and 1,500 (1981, 1983, and 1985). Su gives a number not in excess of 2,600 for the entire Jungar Tuva region, but this figure certainly included Mongols. (1985:43). At the time when this people made its appeal for recognition, Song Zhenchong conducted linguistic fieldwork in Akkaba for his dissertation (1981), and reported that Tuva was spoken by as many as 1,500 speakers, although he felt that the number would be less if a more accurate count were taken.

In 1983, the research group formed by the Regional Nationalities Research Institute of XUAR (described above) also gathered materials that were used to estimate a Jungar Tuva population of 4,000 (Su 1983). Since this estimate did not separate out Mongol groups, and for other reasons, it appears to be far too high.

In 1990, the Chinese Statistics Office of the Xinjiang region counted 1,925 Mongols in the villages of the Altay prefecture where the Jungar Tuva live. Some observers (e.g. Chen 1997) therefore give the number of the Jungar Tuva as 1,925, without taking into account that actual Mongols who also live in these villages.

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Table 3: Ethnic Composition in Altay Prefecture:

Ethnicity	Atay Prefecture	Alaty City	Buwirshin county	Koktogay County	Buwirtagay Couty	Kaba Couty	Chinggil County	Zhemney County
Total	549867	192977	62461	80818	59310	69427	51050	33824
Kazak	276884	62857	35502	54536	23100	41906	38255	20710
Chinese	233562	115871	19527	21258	33258	21731	9883	12034
Uygur	10179	4819	1004	2517	567	336	597	339
Hui	18791	5806	3567	1807	1780	4216	1087	528
Kirgiz	74	10	8	15	1	0	11	29
Mongol	5327	2134	1664	194	164	416	708	47
Shibe	76	36	4	13	12	5	6	0
Russian	379	182	110	50	28	0	1	8
Tajik	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Uzbek	253	135	10	41	0	30	28	9
Tatar	1261	446	334	71	60	82	261	7
Manchu	246	116	1	48	41	6	7	27
Daur	8	0	0	8	0	0	0	0
Others	2827	547	730	260	299	699	206	86

Source: Xinjiang Nianjian, 1996: 67

According to my own field observations in 1995, Akkaba village has approximately 800 inhabitants, of whom 386 are Tuvas and around 400 are Kazaks.

As mentioned above, Tuva were always included in official Chinese census counts as part of the Mongolian nationality. However, most of the inhabitants listed as Mongol in Buwirshin county and Kabak county are Jungar Tuvas. So we could estimate the Jungar population to be something less than 2000.

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In this century, then, the size of the Jungar Tuva population has varied due to political and other processes. There is, however, reason to think that, while some temporary gains in size might have been made, the overall trend was decline from a formerly larger number than today. A few events in the past that led to a decline in population came to light in the course of field interviews with Tuvas of the region. One such event was the Civil War in neighboring Russia, when Red and White forces were fighting in the Tuva territory in 1921. At that time, some Tuvas fled into the Xinjiang Altay, but later most of these refugees moved on into the Kobdo Altay region of Mongolia. Nonetheless, a number of White Russians remained in Xinjiang Altay until they outmigrated during the Cultural Revolution. Those Russians lived in larger, relatively prosperous villages, and ran a Russian school which Tuva children could attend. The language of instruction was Russian only. This is the reason that one may encounter a few Tuvas in this region who speak fluent Russian.

In 1933, a banner of some two hundred Jungar Tuva families of the Xinjiang Altay fled the Ma Zhongying (Dongan) Rebellion into Mongolia, and almost none of these returned. Between 1930 and 1940, the Kazaks of Xinjiang Altay waged a fairly successful series of campaigns aimed at driving the Chinese out of their region. Eventually, Chinese troops, later aided by Soviet Russian troops, ended this conflict, but not before some Tuva groups in the region fled to Mongolia to avoid the fighting.

The Great Leap Forward of the late 1950s brought further demographic pressures to bear on the Jungar Tuvas. Chinese authorities rounded up the whole Tuva population and placed them in two camps where they were forced to do hard labor. As a result, many

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Tuva died, especially small children (see Story 4 in Chapter 4), and upon release some Tuvas moved out to avoid a recurrence.

The Sino-Soviet rift of 1961 also had disastrous effects on the Jungar Tuvas. Accused of collaboration or sympathy with the Soviets, as well as suspected of planning to take flight to the Soviet Union, the Jungar Tuvas were labeled "revisionists." Under this pretext, the Chinese government again moved all the Tuvas to farming communities well away from the borders. As a consequence, a number of Tuvas died, either because their unfamiliarity with farming failed to feed families or because local water sources carried fatal diseases.

It is impossible to determine precisely the total affect of such events on the population of the Jungar Tuva, but it is reasonable to assume that their once higher numbers have been on the decline in this century.

Economic and social processes also affect the number of Jungar Tuvas. Although statistics are lacking, biographies collected among the Tuva reveal that members of each succeeding generation moved out of the region, either to seek jobs or education in larger towns, or to marry into other groups.

In addition to these influences, which affect the use and maintenance of the Jungar Tuva language on the macro level, there are a number of factors that come into play in language use and maintenance on the micro level.

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1.2.2.2 Language Use

The Jungar Tuva do not live in isolation, but instead are a tiny people surviving in the multilingual environment of the Xinjiang Altay. The Tuvas are located primarily in three villages: Akkaba, Kanas and Kom-Kanas. Akkaba belongs to Kaba county, but within Akkaba the Tuva form a village called Akkaba kistak (*kistak* originally meant "winter pasture") and this Akkaba kistak belongs to a village called Terekti awiltik (*awil* originally meant "encampment"), and it is this Terekti awiltik that belongs to Kaba county of Altay prefecture within the Ili-Kazak Autonomous District. Kanas also falls within this prefecture, but lies within Buwirshin county. The Tuva live within the Kanas kistak of Kanas village. The village of Kom-Kanas also falls under the jurisdiction of Buwirshin county, however here the Tuvas are regarded officially as Mongols and so their sector of the village is called Kom Mongol awiltik.

Each of these three villages is composed of several nationalities. In Akkaba, beside the Tuva are the Kazaks and Mongols with their own Kazak and Mongol awiltiks, although they are also labeled Akkaba kistak. In Kanas, Tuvas live together with Mongols and a few Kazaks, and no division into encampments (*awiltik*). In Kom-Kanas, the Tuvas form the majority and are mixed with Mongols, as well as being officially labeled as Mongols. The other Jungar Tuva habitations are the Temeki village of Koktogay county, and the county towns of Burshen, Koktogay and Kaba counties, and Lamajao village of Altay country, all in Altay prefecture, and in these the Tuva do not form a group, but live interspersed with a population of Mongols, Kazaks and Chinese.

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Even though the Tuva are equal in number or even form a majority relative to the Kazaks and Mongols in their primary three locations, they do not enjoy the higher status in any of the three. For that reason, and perhaps more importantly because they are not an official nationality, their language also is third in stature, and actually fifth when the status of Chinese and Uygur in Xinjiang is factored in. Ranking or prestige of these languages depends on access to power, education and economic opportunity.

In Xinjiang the Chinese language is one of the official languages. At the same time, it is associated with economic and educational rewards since the Chinese have now become the majority and dominate the government and economy. The Chinese language has spread widely throughout the country, and there are all kinds of educational institutions available in Chinese in this region. In Chinese schools, no local ethnic minority languages are taught; instead, foreign languages such as English and Russian are taught (Mawkanuli 1995).

In most of the region, especially in the rural areas, Uygurs and Kazaks use their own ethnic languages and a small portion of the population is bilingual, also speaking Chinese or another ethnic language. Some Kazaks speak both Uygur and Chinese in addition to their mother tongue. The Uygur and Kazak languages are the major languages used from primary school to high school, and all textbooks for Uygur and Kazak schools are in these languages. Chinese is taught from third grade until the end of high school. Students are required to study one to two years of Chinese after entering the colleges or universities where special Chinese programs are offered. In a normal situation it takes a Chinese student four years to graduate from a university while it takes a minority student who graduated from a minority high school five to six years. (There are still many Uygur

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and Kazak children who go to Chinese primary and high schools). In most local colleges and universities, the subjects of science and technology are taught in both Chinese and ethnic languages (Uygur and Kazak). Other subjects, such as language, literature, history and Marxist philosophy are taught in ethnic languages. In most of the major colleges and universities in Urumchi, the major languages of instruction are Chinese and Uygur. Therefore, the Kazak students have to master both Chinese and Uygur. The Kazak language is mainly used in the colleges in Ili Kazak Autonomous Prefecture.

The local documents of Ili Kazak Autonomous Prefecture and Altay District, as well as of Kaba county at one time were translated from Chinese into Kazak, but now this practice is changing, so that even Kazak is threatened on the local level. All government employees are encouraged or in many cases required to learn Chinese.

Mongol is the major language of instruction in the Mongols' own primary and middle school while Chinese is taught as a subject from third grade to the end of middle school. In the Mongolian high school this method continues. There are only a few Mongolian teachers' colleges in Xinjiang, but college and university education in Mongolian language is available out of the region, i.e. in Inner Mongolia. Uygur (in Autonomous Region) and Kazak, Kirgiz, and Mongolian (in autonomous "Oblasts" 'prefectures') are the official languages that are used along with Chinese for the administrative, judicial and other official proceedings. Radio and television broadcasts are in these languages. There are also a number of newspapers, journals, periodicals and books published in these languages. Even so, comparatively speaking, Chinese is the primary or dominant language. For all upper government appointments, knowledge of

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Chinese is directly or indirectly implied as a requirement in the educational qualifications.

According to the Chinese language policy, Chinese has been designated as the official language for interethnic communication. In practice, Uygur and Kazak are also used in interethnic communication among ethnic minority communities. Other minority languages are used only for intra-ethnic communication.

The Tuva children of Akkaba, Kanas and Kom-Kanas attend Mongol schools in the region, but since they do not know Mongol, the first three years of their instruction is eased by translating Mongol textbooks and instructions from Mongol into Tuva. That is the only concession made to the existence of their language, and it is made because there is no other choice.

So far as the media are concerned, nearly all television and radio programming is in Chinese, although the Altay prefecture has a local television station that broadcasts programs in Kazak, and it is probably the case that broadcasts in Kazak from Mongolia can be picked up locally. However, only a small number of village people even own television sets. Those Tuvas with radios can receive broadcasts from Kizil in the Tuva republic (see below, Language Maintenance). Newspapers available locally are in Chinese, Kazak or Mongol. No publication or other writing of any kind has ever been made in the Jungar Tuva language.

What do the Jungar Tuvas do to navigate within this multilingual environment in which their own language possesses virtually no status at all? What choices are available to them in which situations? All Tuva children, to my knowledge, learn to speak Kazak

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by the time they are of school age, and then they all begin learning Mongolian when they start school, although the degree of their command varies considerably.[20] The small number of Tuvas who know Chinese learn it well only if they go on to a county high school or get an education elsewhere. Generally, Tuvas do not learn Uygur, since communication is possible using Kazak. In short, the Jungar Tuvas are bilingual in Tuva and Kazak, and potentially trilingual when intermixed with Mongols.

Jungar Tuvas must constantly choose which of the two or three languages (s)he knows to use in a particular situation. The choice of a language in a particular situation depends on social (macro) and individual (micro) factors at play. From the macro perspective, the relationship between Tuva and Kazak in this environment traditionally has been one of diglossia. Kazak was almost exclusively used in formal domains such as education and public administration, whereas Tuva was restricted to such informal domains as the family and neighborhood. Nowadays, however, the previously stable diglossia has been more or less replaced by unstable bilingualism. Increasingly, Kazak has been intruding in informal domains, and Mongolian has been intruding in a limited way in some formal domains. One of the factors affecting this process is language policy, which has led to a somewhat increased use of Mongolian in the public administrative sector, not to mention its use as the language of instruction in schools.

From the micro perspective, the situation is less clear due to the lack of research on this topic. In Akkaba, despite the lack of study of individual use of Tuva at the micro level of interaction, personal observation leads me to assume that Tuva bilingual speakers tend to accommodate to the Kazak or Mongol speakers they are talking to and search for

[20] According to a study by the Institute of Nationality Studies, CASS (1989), some 80% of the Tuva population can speak Kazak and quite a number also read and write in Kazak through independent study. In

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their language. Obviously, this tendency relates to the facts that Tuva are multilingual and fluent in either Kazak or Mongolian, and that the higher status of the dominant languages, Kazak and Mongolian, promotes the tacit social norm to accommodate. My own research indicated that this norm is already acquired at an early age. Moreover, many Tuvas are well aware of their accommodative behavior. They often refer to it as an automatic response that "just happens." The main reason for Tuva speakers to avoid using their own language with Kazak or Mongolian interlocutors is their desire for social approval, whereas lack of comprehension of Tuva by either Kazak or Mongolian speakers is less important in this respect.

A micro factor that affects the way a given speaker might use one of the languages (s)he has chosen in a given situation is ethnicity. Language is not only a means of communication, but also has a symbolic value for both the in-group and the out-group. Here, we subjectively define ethnicity as the sense of alliance with an ethnic group, based on real or perceived group characteristics. Where ethnicity is concerned, the Jungar Tuvas generally conceive of language and kinship as the central group characteristics of "Monchak (Jungar Tuva) identity." Most Jungar Tuvas evaluate language and kinship as the most critical defining criteria for ethnicity.

Besides proficiency in their language, the most important mark of one's identity as Tuva is the clan name, although due to their complex history many Tuvas confuse their clan origins with names of banners and districts in the Manchu administrative system. As already mentioned, the Tuvas of Akkaba and probably those of the other villages as well appear to belong to one of four clans: Koyuk, Irgit, Zhagda Tuva and Shungur (see Story 2 in Chapter 4). Whether all Tuvas would actually use one of these names, or another

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the several years of my fieldwork, I did not encounter a single Tuva who could not speak Kazak.

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reflecting the Manchu organization, is unknown. However, all the Tuvas, at the time of introduction, give their clan or other similar identity.

When a Tuva uses a language other than Tuva to identify with another speaker on the basis of ethnicity but not language, then the discourse takes on an ethnic character that transcends linguistic boundaries. For example, when a Tuva is speaking Kazak or Mongolian with someone who only speaks Kazak or Mongolian but has identified herself or himself as originally a Tuva by clan name, their exchange can still possess the qualities of "we-ness." In those situations, the finding that linguistic background is neither a sufficient nor a necessary condition for Jungar Tuva ethnicity reveals that defining oneself as Tuva requires a more or less conscious choice.

1.2.2.3 Language Maintenance

As has been discussed, a variety of factors operate against the maintenance of Tuva language by the Jungar Tuvas and in favor of their shift to the prestige languages of the region, mainly to Kazak, and less so to Mongolian. These processes are affected by the socio-economic status of the Jungar Tuvas.

From various perspectives, these people are one of the most disadvantaged of the ethnic minority groups in China. First of all, they have very low socio-economic status, determined by low level of education, professional knowledge, and employment. Moreover, their legal status is poor since they have not officially been recognized as a target minority group of governmental policy.

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While the majority of the Jungar Tuvas formerly were nomadic pastoralists, they have seen their pastures reduced in size due to Chinese lumbering and mining operations. Due to this and also to Chinese decisions to forcibly collectivize the Tuvas at several times in recent history, many Tuvas have taken up farming while the majority engage in limited animal husbandry with only poor pasture and water available to them. The highest altitude lands are used as individual plots for herding small numbers of sheep and bovines, which serve as sources of meat and wool, but also as readily convertible sources of cash. Those engaged in farming, such as a group of around fifty households in Akkaba, cultivate maize, beans and tuber crops which barely sustain the community. Generally, although Jungar Tuva can survive, life is hard for them.

Given their low socioeconomic status, it is not surprising that the Tuva people face an uphill struggle in maintaining their language. In this, their language attitudes, their ethnolinguistic vitality and their speech accommodation[21] are the critical factors at work, whether they are operating in favor of language survival or against. The attitudes held by the Tuva people toward their language frequently play an important role in either case.

Attitudes of Jungar Tuvas toward their language vary according to age, ethnicity and location. In general, speakers of an older generation, regardless of their socioeconomic status, are more devoted to their own language than are younger speakers. For example, Solungo, the most educated of the Jungar Tuvas, who now holds the position of vice-chairman of the educational committee of Kaba county, actively supports

[21] Since Tuvas are bi- or trilingual, there is constant interference of Kazak and Mongol systems with the Tuva language. Generally, the proximity of Kazak and Tuva facilitates convergence in phonological and lexical spheres to Kazak, whereas convergence to Mongol tends to be limited to the lexicon. Materials

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efforts to retain his native language and to establish separate education programs for Tuvas. Solungur's son, on the other hand, studies at the Mongolian Teacher's College in Urumchi, and in fact shares the judgments of most Mongols and Kazaks that Tuvas are dirty, stupid and backward, and he has no intention of using his passive knowledge of Tuva again.

Tuvas who possess relatively positive attitudes toward their own language must deal with the negative attitudes of non-Tuva speakers. The example of Solungur and his son shows that Tuva attitudes often are tempered by negative attitudes of the dominant Kazaks and Mongols. Mongols generally call the Tuvas "Altay people" (a pejorative term similar to American English "hillbilly") merely because they do not speak Mongolian well, whereas the Kazaks generally call the Tuvas "Kapirs" ("infidels,"), a term which they also apply to Mongols, because they are not Muslims. Paradoxically, both Kazaks and Mongols, themselves nomadic pastoralists in the past, look down on the Tuvas for their links to this economic pursuit, although this may be the influence of Chinese stereotypes at work upon the more socially mobile Kazaks and Mongols. Neither of these groups expresses willingness to accept Tuvas into their societies.

Those Tuvas who live in compact Tuva-speaking areas like Akkaba maintain a far more positive attitude toward their language than do those in non-Tuva speaking areas like Altay county, where attitudes are relatively negative. The explanation for this probably lies in the fact that in such closer-knit communities, Tuvas face far less discrimination than they do when living interspersed within non-Tuva communities.

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which I collected are rich with examples of these kinds of accommodation and will form the basis of a future study.

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The ethnolinguistic vitality of the Tuva people also plays a critical role in the maintenance or decline of their language. Because they do not enjoy official recognition as a nationality, they do not have the right to formulate a written language or to publish or broadcast in Tuva. In addition, they must attend local Mongol schools where instruction is a mixture of translation from Mongol textbooks to Tuva and of instruction only in Mongol. Tuva children enter a primary Mongol school (so-called because Tuvas officially are Mongols) at the age of seven, where teachers essentially translate from Mongol into Tuva for the first three years. After this time, teachers try to switch instruction over into Mongol alone for two more years of primary school and three years of middle school. Tuva children who go on to a Mongol high school receive instruction only in Mongol and nearly always lag behind their Mongol classmates in the Mongol schools because of their poor proficiency in the language.

This system simultaneously accords the Tuva language some status in the early years, such that in the crucial period of learning a Tuva child may feel his language is adequate, and strips the language of status in later years, when a Tuva child meets only hostility toward and rejection of his language. Not only does this instill negative language attitudes, but it reaffirms the lack of functionality for Tuva in the real world beyond the home and village.

Within the developmental process itself, young Tuvas come to realize the advantages of other ethnic groups and other languages. They become fully aware of the importance of knowing Kazak both at official and social levels, whereas they may not accord much importance to Mongolian. Those Tuvas in Akkaba and Kom tend not to know Mongolian well since they are surrounded by Kazaks, whereas those in Kanas gain

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better proficiency since they live with Mongols. The Kazak written language is used in local official documents, prompting some Tuvas to teach themselves how to read it in order to seek better jobs or opportunities. However, few Tuvas have any interest in mastering written Mongolian, since the language has too little instrumental value in society. While Chinese clearly is the most prestigious language, and a required subject from the third year of primary school on, few Tuvas make any effort to learn the language.

The effect of their educational experience on Tuva children appears to be dual in nature. While practicality dictates early reinforcement of their own language and therefore of their own ethnicity in the classroom, such gains in vitality, if any, are later reversed when the "real world" of Xinjiang Altay society is impressed upon them, motivating a few to reject their own ethnicity and others to do nothing.

An important factor affecting ethnolinguistic vitality is loss of identity and language as a result of intermarriage. According to Tuva custom, marriages cannot be arranged within the same district (*sumun*) reflecting an old restriction against endogamy within clans, which means that outmarriage must be pursued to a considerable extent. However, religion functions as a possible barrier of Kazak-Tuva marriages, one that is taken down when a Kazak man marries a Tuva woman who does not have a firm commitment to another religion. The religious barrier does not exist between Mongols and Tuvas, all of whom profess Buddhism, at least as a symbol of cultural identity. Again, however, such marriages are contracted only between Mongol men and Tuva women.

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The effect of this kind of intermarriage would be to weaken the vitality of the Tuva, since Tuva women and their children surely could not maintain identity or language in their new households. However, the number of such marriages appears to be very small, especially in more cohesive communities like Akkaba. During my fieldwork, I heard about no more than twenty such marriages having taken place.

Given that positive language attitudes appear to be declining by generation and location due in large part to unrelentingly negative stereotypes about the Tuva and their language, and given that their ethnolinguistic vitality diminishes due to demographic and socioeconomic factors, one must ask whether the existence of the Tuva language is severely endangered. However, it is my view that Jungar Tuva, while appearing to be in a semi-healthy state, in terms of transmission actively to succeeding generations whose grasp of the language is relatively sound due to its use in the home and for several years in school, the greatest threat to its survival is that children growing into teenage years and beyond are not *using* Tuva in outgroup environments.

However, Tuva is a vital expression of the people who speak it; it codifies and reflects the culture, spirit, history, and philosophy of its speakers. The fact that the Jungar Tuva continue to use Tuva, despite enormous historical and sociolinguistic pressures to assimilate, reflects the importance of the language to its speakers. In the last few years there has been an increasing effort at the community level towards promoting cultural awareness and language use. Unless this effort is recognized and supported, the threat to Jungar Tuva's survival will be growing.

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1.3 Objectives of This Study

The aim of this study is to record and describe the phonological and morphological structure of the endangered Jungar Tuva based on materials collected in the field. Jungar Tuva is one of the more poorly documented languages of the world. Despite a brief grammatical sketch (Song 1983), an unpublished dissertation (Song 1981), and several articles about the Jungar Tuva language, there is no comprehensive treatment of the language. The present description, therefore, fills an important gap in the linguistic knowledge of an endangered language.

There has been very little published in Western languages concerning Jungar Tuva language or culture. The exceptions consist of two articles by M.V. Mongush (1995, 1996), which deal with some aspects of the Jungar Tuvas' history and culture, and one article by Song (1990) dealing with bilingualism among the Jungar Tuva. In Russian, there appeared a review of Chinese works by Sat and Dorzhu (1989). Most publications on this people have been authored by Chinese scholars (e.g. Chen 1994, Chuzhinzabu 1985, Dong 1985, He 1984, 1985, 1986, 1988, Song 1988, Su 1984).

Large-scale general surveys of the national languages and social history of minorities throughout China were conducted in the 1950s. Under the leadership of the Central Nationalities Affairs Commission and Chinese Academy of Social Science, as part of the general survey, the first stage of the linguistic survey of Turkic languages was carried out beginning in 1956 for seven Turkic languages: Uygur, Kazak, Kirgiz, Tatar, Uzbek, Salar and Yellow Uygur in Xinjiang as well as Gansu and Qinghai provinces. The group which was in charge of Kazak language also conducted a brief preliminary

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language survey on the Tuva language. Much of the 1950s linguistic fieldwork data on Turkic languages except Jungar Tuva was compiled and published in the fifty-seven-volume series "Chinese Minority Nationalities Brief Language Records Collection" (Zhongguo Shaoshu Minzu Yuyan Jianzhi Congshu 1980-1993?). Only Dong (1985) used data from that linguistic fieldwork regarding Jungar Tuva in a short paper entitled "the Tuva People and the Tuva Language."

As mentioned above, in the early 1980s, the Jungar Tuva began to appeal to the Chinese government, urging it to recognize their status as an independent nationality, which this once more focused the attention of some Chinese scholars on the Tuva language. In 1980, Song conducted linguistic fieldwork in Akkaba for his dissertation, parts of which appeared in three articles dealing with the phonology, grammar and bilingualism of the Jungar Tuva (1981, 1983, 1985)

In order to carry out the XUAR's regional Party Committee's instruction to define the ethnicity of the Tuva in the Altay mountain region, in 1985 under the leadership of the Regional Nationalities Affairs Commission a research group was established which was composed of the Nationalities Research Institute, History Research Institute, and Literature Institute of the Xinjiang Academy of Social Sciences, as well as the China's Languages Department of Xinjiang University. This research group was further divided into three subgroups: Nationality subgroup, History and Religion subgroup, and Language subgroup. These groups made general surveys of language, religion and social history throughout the Altay region. The results of the investigation of the Jungar Tuva by the religion and social history groups were assembled in a manuscript entitled "A Compilation of the Survey of the Tuva in the Altay region." The language group prepared

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a manuscript entitled "A Brief Survey of the Tuva Language with three glossaries: Tuva-Uygur-Chinese, Tuva-Kazak-Chinese, and Tuva-Mongolian-Chinese." Both manuscripts were submitted to the government commission and remain unpublished.

Various Chinese, Kazak and Uygur specialists in Turkic languages prepared "A Lexicon of Turkic Languages" which included Tuva and was published in 1990 (Nurbek). A brief grammatical sketch of Tuva was included in the same group's "Survey of China's Turkic Languages" (1983) commissioned by the editorial board of China's Turkic Language Association.

As a member of a Turkic Languages Research Team which consisted of two professors and five other graduate students from Xinjiang University, I first visited Akkaba and Kana in 1987. This linguistic fieldwork data on Jungar Tuva was included in a volume entitled "Comparative Turkic Linguistics" (Chen, Mawkanuli et al. 1997).

The grammatical description of Jungar Tuva offered in this dissertation is based primarily upon information collected during three periods of fieldwork in Akkaba, Kanas and Urumchi in 1987-1988, in 1993, and in 1995. During my first visit to Akkaba and Kana in 1987, my primary responsibility was the collection of data on phonology. My efforts were mainly directed at acquiring as much proficiency as I could in the language itself. In the first few days I tried to collect basic vocabulary and expressions from any Tuva available. After somewhat random work with a few people, I met my principal informant, Sendish Ergin-ool. Our communication was through Kazak, which is my native language and in which Sendish Ergin-ool is very fluent too. After working together for a few days, Sendish Ergin-ool gained a great interest in and understanding of what I was trying to do

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and devoted himself to our work. On this first trip, I also concentrated on trying to learn Jungar Tuva habits and customs, and joining the routine work of other people and participating in various cultural events and gaining a practical knowledge of their life. With my informant, I collected basic vocabulary and tried to do grammatical elicitation in order to get an idea of the phonology and basic sentence structure. I also recorded several stories and an epic told by another informant. After coming back to Urumchi, I was fortunate to have access to a number of Jungar Tuva speakers, mostly students at the Mongolian Teacher's College in Urumchi. The data collected was incorporated in my thesis submitted in 1988 for the MA in Turkic Linguistics, Xinjiang University, and later included in the volume "Comparative Turkic Linguistics" (Chen & Mawkanuli et al. 1997).

In 1991, I came to the United States to pursue a higher degree in Turkic linguistics at Indiana University. I went back to Urumchi 1993 and visited some of the Jungar Tuva students at the Mongolian Teacher's college and did some recording. I returned to Akkaba, Kanas and Urumchi for a second field trip in late September 1995. Unlike my previous visits, I already had basic knowledge of the language and had established a good many hypotheses about the language. During this trip my efforts were mainly directed at collecting as much information as possible for subsequent analysis in the United States.

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CHAPTER 2

PHONOLOGY

This chapter describes the phonological system of Jungar Tuva. A comprehensive account of the 36 segmental phonemes (17 vowels and 19 consonants) is presented first, followed by non-segmental features of stress and intonation. Significant allophonic alternations are mentioned where they occur, and the phonetic realizations of distinctive segments and of their allophones are discussed. The IPA phonetic symbols are used in brackets, offering a broad transcription, and the equivalents of the segments in proposed orthography. There follows a description of the syllable types and distribution of phonemes, morphonemes, extrasystemic phonology and finally a brief discussion of the orthography. The orthography uses symbols that in most cases correspond to the phonetic symbols of the IPA. Examples are cited in a broad transcription. Details concerning the concrete phonetic correlates of the segments are discussed in the individual sections, and the segments under discussion are more narrowly transcribed in a given example, while the remainder of the example is transcribed broadly, especially if it contains sounds that have not been discussed yet. Orthographic representations appear in italics (*italics*), phonemic representations in slashes (/ /), and phonetic representations in brackets ([ ]).

The distinctive phonological units of Jungar Tuva are listed below in terms of their principal place and manner of articulation. With respect to voicing, obstruents are fully voiced or voiceless unaspirated elements, while sonorants (nasals, glides, liquids,

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vowels) are predictably voiced. The airstream mechanism is uninformly pulmonic egressive, and distinctive secondary articulations are not found.

2.1 Vowels

There are seventeen phonemically distinct vowels in Jungar Tuva which are distinguished by height, position and roundness. Among these vowels, /ä/ hardly occurs in native Jungar Tuva morphemes. Vowel length is phonologically significant and long vowels will be noted as geminate. Vowels are given in Table 4.

Table 4: Phonemic Vowel System of Jungar Tuva

	Unrounded vowels		Rounded vowels	
	front	Back	Front	Back
High	i, ii	ı, ıı	ü, üü	u, uu
Mid	e, ee		ö, öö	o, oo
Low	ä	a, aa		

The following section lists each of the vowel phonemes, describes their allophones, and states the distribution of the allophones if there is more than one.

/i/ [i] slightly higher and tenser than the major allophone, occurs after bilabials, or after consonants of which the first is an alveo-dental or an alveo-palatal fricative:

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/biyir/	[biyir]	pencil
/bis/	[bis]	we
/izig/	[ɪzix]	hot
/giši/	[giʒi]	person
/sigen/	[sigen]	grass
/širbiiš/	[ʃirbiʃ]	broom

[j̥] voiceless variant of the major allophone, occurs at the beginning of a word, following a glottal stop before the voiceless alveo-palatal fricative /š/ mainly in loan words.

/išpiyon/	[ʔj̥ʃp^{h}iyɔn]	spy
/išpekši/	[ʔj̥ʃp^{h}ekʃi]	worker

[ɪ] high, lax, front unrounded vowel, slightly lower than cardinal [i], occurs elsewhere:

/kin/	[kɪn]	belly button
/diš/	[dɪʃ]	tooth
/erlik/	[^{j}erlɪk]	inferno

/e/ [^{j}e] as the major allophone, but palatalized and preceded by a mid, tense front glide, occurs at the beginning of a word.

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/erin/ [ʲerin] lip

/eš/ [ʲeš] companion, friend

/em/ [ʲem] medicine

(As shown in the transcription, a palatal glide is inserted before the vowel /e/ if it is in the initial position, that is to say word-initial /e/ often exhibits a prothetic.)

[e] mid tense front unrounded vowel, occurs elsewhere:

/bel/ [bel] waist

/geš/ [geʃ] skin

/der/ [der] sweat

[ɛ] mid, lax front unrounded, (As part of Jungar Tuva's general tendency to lower (centralize) vowels, [e] alternates with [ɛ] in most environments.)

/ɪ/ [ɪ] high, lax, front unrounded vowel, slightly lower than IPA cardinal [i], occurs after š, ž, s or adjacent to y [j].

/šɪn/ [šɪn] true

/dɪyɪn/ [dɪjɪn] squirrel

/žɪyt de-/ [dʒɪjt de-] chirp

[ɤ] mid tense back unrounded vowel, occurs elsewhere:

/ɪt/ [ɤt] dog

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/kɪska/	[qʰʏsqʌ]	short
/baxšɪ/	[bʌxʃʏ]	teacher

[ʌ] Sometimes, in some speakers [ʏ] is in free variation with the low lax back unrounded vowel [ʌ] in the following words.

/aragɪ/	~	[ʌrʌɤʌ]	liquor, alcoholic drinks
/dašɪ-/	~	[dʌšʌ-]	carry
/dɪra-/	~	[dʌrʌ-]	comb

/ä/ [æ] low, lax front unrounded vowel,

/ädil/	[ædil]	fairness
/däkter/	[dæktʰer]	notebook
/äreket/	[ærekʰet]	movement, effort
/käleš/	[kʰæleʃ]	rubber overshoes

This phoneme occurs almost exclusively in roots that are derived from loan words copied from Arabic, Persian and Russian via Kazak and in proper names, where such roots have not been nativized. Jungar Tuva /ä/ which is restricted to the first syllable, is an innovation caused by secondary fronting of /a/ in words copied from Arabic and Persian.

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/a/ [ɑ] slightly open and tenser than the major allophone, occurs adjacent to a uvular:

/ak/	[ɑq]	white
/dɪrgak/	[dɤrʁɑq]	comb
/kalbɪr/	[qʰɑlbɤr]	tin can

[æ] low, lax, front unrounded vowel, slightly lower than IPA cardinal [ɛ], occurs between š, ž and y.

/šay/	[šæy]	tea
/žay/	[žæy]	summer
/žayɪn/	[žæyin]	in the summer

[ʌ] low lax back unrounded vowel, slightly more lower and back than IPA cardinal [ʌ], occurs elsewhere:

/aš/	[ʌʃ]	hungry
/žɪlan/	[dʒɤɬʌn]	snake
/lama/	[ɬʌma]	lama

/ü/ [ʏ] high semi-tense front rounded vowel, slightly lower than IPA cardinal [ʏ]:

/üs/	[ʏs]	oil
/süt/	[sʏt]	milk

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/üsd/ [ʏsd] above, top

/u/ [ʊ] high lax back rounded vowel, slightly lower than IPA cardinal [ʊ]:

/uzun/ [ʊzʊn] long

/gurmustu/ [ʁʊrmʊsdu] God of heaven

/sulu/ [sʊɬʊ] oats

/ö/ [ʷø] as the major allophone vowel [ø], but it is realized with a prothetic bilabial glide in word-initial.

/örük/ [ʷørʏk] apricot

/örtök/ [ʷørtʰøk] price, cost

/ödö/ [ʷødø] very

[ø] mid tense front rounded vowel, occurs elsewhere:

/dört/ [dørt] four

/bös/ [bøs] cloth

/töš/ [tʰøʃ] chest

/o/ [ʷɔ] as the major allophone, but it is realized with a prothetic bilabial glide in word-initial.

/on/ [ʷɔn] ten

/oyunčık/ [ʷɔyʊntʃʰʏq] toys

/oŋay/ [ʷɔŋɑy] easy

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[ɔ] mid lax back rounded vowel, occurs elsewhere:

/torga/	[tʰɔrga]	woodpecker
/sɔyul/	[sɔyuɬ]	culture
/kinɔ/	[kʰinɔ]	movie, film

2.1.1 Long Vowels

Phonemically distinct long vowels occur as counterparts of each of the short vowels. They share the same articulatory features as the short vowels and differ only in duration. Their qualities are in Table 5 below.

Table 5: Phonemic Long vowels of Jungar Tuva

	Unrounded vowels		Rounded vowels	
	Front	Back	Front	Back
High	ii	ıı	üü	uu
Mid	ee		öö	oo
Low		aa		

As mentioned above (see p.38), the phoneme /ä/occurs almost exclusively in roots that are derived from loan words copied mostly from Arabic and Persian via Kazak and in proper names, where such roots have not been nativized. The phoneme /ä/ is restricted to

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the first syllable, and within the Jungar Tuva phonological framework, /ä/ does not have a long counterpart /ää/.

The contrast between short and long vowels is illustrated by the minimal pairs in Table 6 below:

Table 6: The contrast between short and long vowels

/ža/	[dʒʌ]	bow	/žaa/	[dʒʌː]	new
/er/	[er]	man	/ža/	[eːr]	curved
/bisti/	[bisti]	we-Acc.	/bistii/	[bistiː]	our
/sɪn-/	[sɪn-]	break	/sɪɪn/	[sɪːn]	deer
/bo/	[bɔ]	this	/boo/	[bɔː]	gun, rifle
/öš/	[øʃ]	revenge	/ööš/	[öːʃ]	gullet
/žuga/	[dʒʊʁɑ]	thin	/žuuga/	[dʒʊːʁɑ]	stream
/dün/	[dʏn]	night	/düün/	[dʏːn]	yesterday

Most of the long vowels of minimal pairs in Jungar Tuva as in the standard Tuva and other South Siberian languages are normally historical products of contractions. The word-final long vowels go back to the loss of *-*g*. Even intervocalic *-*g*- and *-*ŋ*- can disappear due to contraction. Jungar Tuva also exhibits loss of intervocalic –l- and –r-, mainly in monosyllabic verb stems (see below Table 7).

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Long vowels also are produced morphologically through the loss of stem-final *k/g, x, w, l,* or suffix-initial *k,* or *-k-* intervocalic or through the addition to stems ending in a vowel of suffixes like the present indefinite participle -ar/ır or the third person possessive suffix –I which retain their vowels.

Table 7: Contractions of Vowels

/ža/	[dʒʌ]	bow	/žaa/	[dʒʌ:] <*žaŋa	new
/tar/	[tʌr]	narrow	/taar/	[tʌ:r] <*tagar	sack
/er/	[er]	man	/eer/	[e:r] <*eger	curved
/bisti/	[bisti]	we (Obj.)	/bistii/	[bisti:] <*biznigi	we (Acc.)
/sın-/	[sın-]	break	/sıın/	[sı:n] <*sıgın	deer
/ıt/	[ıt]	dog	/ııt/	[ı:t] <*ıgıt	sound
/ol/	[ol]	this	/ool/	[o:l] <*ogul	gun
/öš/	[øʃ]	revenge	/ööš/	[ø:ʃ] <*öŋöš	gullet
/žuga/	[dʒuʁʌ]	thin	/žuuga/	[dʒu:ʁʌ] <*ž../	stream, brook
/dün/	[dʏn]	night	/düün/	[dʏ:] <*dügün/	yesterday

2.1.2 Pharyngealisation

Because a few scholars have attempted to establish the phonemic status of pharyngealized vowels *vis-`a-vis* the short vowels by means of minimal pairs, some

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discussion of pharyngealization is necessary here, especially as the present analysis is at variance with other descriptions of the same phenomenon.

Sun (1980, 1985) noted a phonetic difference between short and pharyngealized vowels found in a few mostly monosyllabic words such as /öt/ [øˤt] 'pass' ~ /öt/ [øt] 'gall'; /irt/ [iˤrt] 'ram, sediment' ~ /irt/ [irt] 'milk product ', and a few others. On this basis, he concluded that pharyngealized vowels are an inherent feature of the language and are phonemic, although he noticed that the distinction was disappearing among young speakers. Dong (1985), who did his fieldwork in 1956 the results of which were published only in 1985, also indicated that there are three pharyngealized vowels in Jungar Tuva. He cited three examples (e.g. /aʰt/ [ɑˤt] 'horse' ~ /at/ [ɑt] 'name'; /oʰt/ [oˤt] 'fire' ~ /ot/ [ot] 'grass'; and /ɪʰt/ [ɪˤt] 'dog;) and decided that the distinction was phonemic.

The following list presents the minimal pairs found in my data, where the pharyngealized vowels are marked with ˤ in the phonetic transcription to indicate this feature. (See below Table 8)

Although Sun and Dong basically accepted the existence of pharyngealized vowels as phonemically distinct from short vowels on the basis of limited minimal pairs, which also occur in my data, I find in my material that only the older generation of Jungar Tuva speakers differentiate the short and pharyngealized vowels, whereas younger people pronounce these non-pharyngealised and pharyngealised sounds in exactly the same way. Therefore, it apears that pharyngealisation of vowels is beginning to die out in the language. In fact, already in 1987, while doing fieldwork for my MA thesis at

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Xinjiang University, I realized that the influence of bilingualism in Jungar Tuva and Kazak was erasing the distinction because Kazak lacks this feature. This was reported in the book based on this fieldwork (Chen, Mawkanuli et al.1997:13).

Taking into account the fact that Jungar Tuva has been greatly influenced by the surrounding Kazak and Mongolian languages, along with the facts that pharyngealized vowels are not consistent in nature and are not used by younger speakers, and not consistently even by older speakers of Jungar Tuva, this feature is not regarded here as a distinctive part of the phonology.

Table 8: Minimal pairs of pharyngealized vowels

/at/	[ʌˤt]	horse	/at/	[ʌt]	name
/et/	[eˤt]	meat	/et/	[et]	goods
/ot/	[ɔˤt]	grass	/ɔt/	[ot]	fire
/öt/	[øˤt]	pass	/öt/	[øt]	gall
/buduk/	[buduˤq]	branch	/buduk/	[buduq]	dye
/žük/	[dʒʏˤk]	heavy	/žük/	[dʒʏk]	direction
/kɪs-/	[qʏˤs-]	press	/kɪs-/	[qʏs-]	strive
/irt/	[iˤrt]	ram	/irt/	[*irt*]	milk product

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2.2 Consonant Phonemes

We can recognize nineteen consonant phonemes in Tuva, which are presented as the following inventory in Table 9:

Table 9: Consonant phonemes of Jungar Tuva

	Bilabial	Alvo-dental	Alveo-palatal	velur
Voiceless stop	p	t		k
Voiced stop	b	d		g
Voiceless fricative		s	š	x
Voiced fricative		z	ž	
Affricative			č	
Nasal	m	n		ŋ
Lateral liquid		l		
Retroflex liquid		r		
Glide	w		y	

The following section lists each of the consonant phonemes, describes their allophones, and states the distribution of the allophones if there is more than one.

/p/ [p] voiceless bilabial non-aspirated stop, before consonants and utterance finally:

/dıp-/ [dıp-] obtain, get

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	/dopšu/	[dɔpʃʊ]	button
	/kep/	[k^hɛp]	clothes, clothing

[p^h] voiceless bilabial aspirated stop, occurs elsewhere:

/par/	[p^hʌr]	tiger
/paska/	[p^hʌsq^{h}ɑ]	hammer
/dopan/	[dɔp^{h}ʌn]	chaff, husk

/b/ [p] voiceless bilabial non-aspirated stop, occurs before consonants and utterance finally:

/ab-/	[ʌp-]	take
/dobšuur/	[dɔpʃʊʊr]	dombra
/xablan/	[xʌplʌn]	leopard

[β] voiced bilabial fricative, occurs intervocalically:

/šeber/	[ʃeβer]	health, clean
/göböy/	[gøβøj]	many; much
/debežeŋ/	[deβedʒeŋ]	paradise

[b] voiced bilabial non-aspirated stop, occurs elsewhere:

/bal/	[bʌɬ]	honey
/doburak/	[dɔβʊraq]	soil
/gorbılday/	[gɔrbɤɬdʌj]	parrot

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/t/ [t] voiceless non-aspirated or slightly aspirated alveolar, occurs preceding a consonant or utterance finally:

/ašɪtkɪ/	[ʌʃɪtqʰʏ]	yeast
/ötkür-/	[øtkʰʏr-]	live, pass
/süttü/	[sʏttʰʏ]	milky
/dɪt/	[dɪt]	larch
/ört/	[ørt]	fire

[tʰ] voiceless aspirated alveolar, occurs elsewhere:

/tebe/	[tʰebɛ]	camel
/artɪš/	[artʰʏʃ]	cypress
/taptɪg/	[tʌptʰʏʁ]	sweet

/d/ [d] voiced non-aspirated alveolar:

/dayak/	[dʌjɑq]	stick
/žödöl/	[dʒødøl]	cough
/kodu/	[qɔdʊ]	stomach

/k/ [k] voiceless non-aspirated or slightly aspirated velar, occurs preceding a consonant or utterance finally:

/ökpe/	[økpʰe]	lung

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/žükte-/	[dʒʏkte-]	load
/edek/	[edek]	hem, flap
/süzük/	[sʏzʏk]	religion

[kʲ] voiceless slightly palatalized aspirated velar, occurs before a front vowel:

/keme/	[kʲʰeme]	ship
/kiži/	[kʲʰidʒi]	siege
/köl/	[kʲʰøl]	lake

[q] voiceless non-aspirated or slightly aspirated uvular, occurs with a tautosyllabic back vowel, preceding a consonant or utterance finally:

/akša/	[aqʃʌ]	money
/aksak/	[ɑqsɑq]	lame
/balık/	[bʌɬɤq]	fish
/sɔɔk/	[sɔːq]	cold

[qʰ] voiceless aspirated uvular occurs elsewhere in a syllable with a tautosyllabic back vowel:

/kalbak/	[qʰɑlbɑq]	flat
/kıska/	[qʰɤsqʰɑ]	short, brief
/kodan/	[qʰɔdɑn]	rabbit
/kulun/	[qʰʊɬʊn]	colt, foal

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[χ] voiceless uvular fricative (alternates with [q])

/kuduk/	[qʰʊdʊq] ~ [χʊdʊq]	well
/kayık/	[qʰɑjɤq] ~ [χɑjɤq]	boat
/kara/	[qʰɑrɑ] ~ [χɑrɑ]	black

[kʰʲ] voiceless aspirated velar, occurs elsewhere:

/küröŋ/	[kʰʲʏrøŋ]	lake
/eki/	[ekʰʲi]	good
/güske/	[gʏskʰʲe]	mouse

/g/ [g] voiceless slightly palatalized aspirated velar, occurs preceding a front vowel:

/güš/	[gʏʃ]	force, strength
/gidis/	[gɪdɪs]	felt
/gök/	[gøk]	blue

[ʁ] voiced fricative non-aspirated or slightly aspirated uvular, occurs with a tautosyllabic back vowel:

/goš/	[ʁoʃ]	pair
/žılgı/	[dʒɤɬʁʏ]	horse
/ašıg/	[ɑdʒʏʁ]	mountain pass

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[gʷ] voiced labialized rounded velar, occurs following a high rounded back vowel /u/:

/buga/	[bʊgʷɑ]	ox
/ugannɪg/	[ʊgʷannɤʁ]	intelligent
/ugalaž-/	[ʊgʷɑɬɑdʒ-]	consult

[g] voiced, non-aspirated velar, occurs elsewhere:

/elžigen/	[eldʒigen]	donkey
/tegene/	[tegene]	basin, pot
/emig/	[emig]	breast

/č/ [tʃʰ] voiceless aspirated alveo-palatal affricative:

/čaŋlɪŋ/	[tʃʰʌŋlɤŋ]	salary, wage
/čɪraylɪx/	[tʃʰɤrʌjlɤx]	beautiful
/čeček/	[tʃʰetʃʰek]	flower

The phoneme [tʃ] has entered Jungar Tuva through borrowings, initially mainly from local Kazak and Mongolian dialects, and later from Russian and Chinese.

/š/ [ʒ] voiced alveo-palatal fricative, occurs intervocalically:

/gišɪ/	[giʒi]	person
/ašɪg/	[ʌʒɤʁ]	acid, sour

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/ešek/ [eʒek] door

[ʃʷ] voiced libialized fricative occurs intervocalically following a high rounded back vowel:

/uša/ [uʒʷʌ] thigh

/ušar/ [uʒʷʌr] to fly; dirty

/ušun/ [uʒʷun] for, because

[ʃ] voiceless fricative, occurs elsewhere:

/šalɪŋ/ [ʃɑɬɤŋ] dew, dew drop

/kašan/ [qʰɑʃʌn] when

/ɪyaš/ [ɤjʌʃ] tree, wood

/ž/ [dʒ] voiced alveo-palatal fricative occurs in most environments.

/žaš/ [dʒʌʃ] age

/žem/ [dʒem] food

/žeže/ [dʒedʒe] how many

[tʃ] voiceless non-aspirated or slightly aspirated alveo-palatal affricative, alters with [dʒ].

/žɪxdɪx/ ~ /čɪxdɪx/ [tʃɤxdɤx] unusual

/birinži/ ~ /birinči/ [birintʃʰi] first

/xaržak/ ~ /xarčak/ [xɑrtʃʰɑq] drawer, box

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/malžı/ ~ /malčı/ [mʌltʃʏ] herder

/s/ [z] voiced alveo-dental fricative, occurs intervocalically or following a nasal.

/basım/	[bʌzʏm]	step, pace
/güse-/	[gʏze-]	wish
/güsöl/	[gʏzøl]	desire, wish
/dıŋsıg/	[dʏŋsʏɞ]	tight, taut

[s] voiceless alveo-dental fricative occurs elsewhere:

/seek/	[se:k]	fly
/güske/	[gʏsk^{h}e]	mouse
/žes/	[dʒes]	copper

/z/ [z] voiced alveo-dental fricative occurring in all environments:

/zaan/	[zɑ:n]	elephant
/žüzdük/	[dʒʏzdʏk]	(finger) ring
/zıldız/	[zʏɬdʏz]	star

/x/ [x] voiceless velar fricative occurring in all the environments:

/xablan/	[xɑblɑn]	leopard
/texnik/	[texnik]	technician

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	/ɪndɪx/	[ɤndɤx]	that kind

/m/ [m] voiced bilabial nasal occurring anywhere:

/mašak/	[mʌdʒɑq]	stalk
/semis/	[semis]	fat
/nom/	[nɔm]	book, lesson

/n/ [ŋ] voiced velar nasal, occurs immediately before a velar (g or k):

/bonkit/	[bɔŋkʰit]	station
/burungɪ/	[bʊrʊŋʁɤ]	former, previous
/banke/	[bæŋkʰe]	bank

[n] voiced alveo-dental nasal, occurs elsewhere:

/nar/	[nʌr]	one-humped camel
/taranžɪ/	[tʰʌrʌnžɤ]	peasant, farmer
/mun/	[mʊn]	soup, broth

/ŋ/ [ŋ] voiced velar nasal, occurs in medial and final position only:

/oŋay/	[oŋɑj]	easy
/žaŋ/	[dʒɑŋ]	attitude, manner

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/soŋgu/	[sɔŋʁʊ]	last, past

/l/ [ɬ] velarized voiced alveo-dental lateral, occurs with a tautosyllabic back vowel:

/lama/	[ɬʌmʌ]	lama
/xablan/	[xʌbɬʌn]	leopard; panther
/bal/	[bʌɬ]	honey

[l] voiced alveo-dental lateral, occurs elsewhere:

/lökür/	[løkʰʏr]	proverb
/elši/	[elšɪ]	ambassador
/bil-/	[bɪl-]	know

/r/ [r] voiced alveo-dental trill, occurs everywhere:

/seriin/	[serɪːn]	cold
/ɪrak/	[ʏrɑq]	far, remote
/tar/	[tʰʌr]	narrow

/y/ [j] voiced palatal glide (voiced palatal non-syllabic vowel):

/iyi/	[iji]	two
/duyura/	[dʊjʊrʌ]	crane
/šay/	[ʃæj]	tea

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/w/ [β] voiced unrounded bilateral fricative

/wagon/	[βʌg^{w}ɔn]	railroad car
/tawar/	[tʌβʌr]	fabric, satin
/sawɪŋ/	[sʌβʏŋ]	soap

[b] voiced labial stop, alternates with [β]:

/kawɪn/	~	/kawɪn/ [q^{h}ɔbʏn]	melon
/awa/	~	/awa/ [ʌbʌ]	mother
/žawa/	~	/žawa/ [žʌbʌ]	one year old horse

The glides are found with both front and back vowels. They do not interfere with vowel harmony, as we will see later, and are thus treated as full consonants in this respect by the phonological system.

2. 3 Phonotactics

2.3.1 Syllable structure

The syllable consists of an onset, a nucleus and a coda. The basic syllable in Jungar Tuva consists of a vowel nucleus to which either a consonant onset or a consonant coda, or both, may be added:

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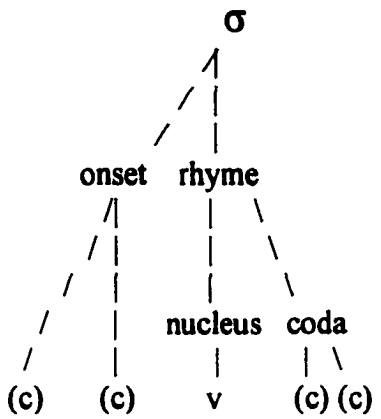

A phonemic syllable consists of an obligatory nucleus filled by a single vowel, and may also contain one consonant preceding and up to two consonants following the nucleus. Specifically, the syllable onset may be null, or it may consist of a consonant, or a glide, or in a few loanwords, a sequence of consonants. The nucleus generally consists of a short vowel or a long vowel. The coda is null or is formed by either a glide or a consonant, or by sequence of consonants.

Like most of the Turkic languages, Jungar Tuva syllable structure is characterized by intrasyllabic front vs. back harmony, according to which syllables are marked as either front or back. This phenomenon effects whole syllables with their vowel and possible consonants. The principles governing this phonological phenomenon can thus be best described at a suprasegmental level. It is not the frontness vs. backness of the individual segments, but the front vs. back categorization of syllables that has distinctive function (Johanson 1998: 203). Each syllable can be classified as front or back. For example:

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Table 10: The contrast between front and back syllables

Front Syllable	Back Syllable
/kül/ [k^hʏl] 'ashes'	/kul/ [q^hʊl]'slave'
/gir-/ [gir-] 'enter'	/gɪr/ [ʁʏr]'edge'
/it-/ [it-] 'push, shove'	/ɪt/ [ʏt]'dog'
/dür-/ [dür-] 'roll up'	/dur-/ [dʊr-]'stand'

2.3.2 Morpheme structure

Morphologically simple free forms can have the minimal shape of just a single syllable, either open or closed, with or without a consonantal onset, e.g.; /be/ 'mare', /tal/ 'willow', /oo/ 'oh', /ün/ 'sound'. Jungar Tuva has the following basic syllable structures:

V	/a-ža/	father	/o-yun/	game
VC	/em/	medicine	/ool/	son
CVC	/düün/	yesterday	/par/	tiger
CV	/bo/	this	/be/	mare
VCC	/üst/	above	/ört/	flame
CVCC	/žurt/	nation	/dört/	four

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The following are possible syllables which only occur in some loan words.

CVV	/dialekti/	dialect
CVVC	/šiawžaŋ/	principal
CVV	/dašüe/	university

Monosyllabic roots constitute only a small proportion of the lexicon. Root morphemes that are native words in Jungar Tuva usually are disyllabic, and sometimes trisyllabic.

1 syllable:	/ak/	white	/dıl/	tongue
2 syllables:	/i-nek/	cow	/ma-da/	fabric, cloth
3 syllables:	/ku-ra-gan/	lamb	/ku-du-ruk/	tail

There is a very small number of longer roots which appear to be synchronically unanalyzable. Quadrisyllabic roots only occur in loanwords from Kazak or Mongolian.

4 syllables:	/ä-de-bi-yat/	literature	/u-run-zo-kaal/	literature

All syllable types can occur anywhere within the morphemes except for VCC and CVCC which are found only morpheme finally.

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2.3.3 Word structure

The structure of words is the same as that of morphemes, except that, in addition, the expansion of roots through affixation and cliticization can yield words of many syllables in length:

4 syllables	/sur-kuy-lɪ-lar/	schools
	/ɪn-žal-kal-dan/	but
5 syllables	/še-rix-ler-i-bis/	our troop
	/ter-güü-lek-če-si/	his chairman
6 syllables	/su-ruk-žɪ-lar-ɪŋ-nɪŋ/	your students'
	/xay-ral-dɪ-rɪ-sen-ner/	you protect

2.3.4 Distribution of phonemes within the word

This section describes the patterns and limitations of occurrence of phonemes in syllables, morphemes and words.

2.3.4.1 Vowel distribution

Word initial vowels: All seventeen distinctive vowels are found in word initial position. The occurrence of each distinctive vowel in word-initial position is given in Table 11 below.

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Table 11: Occurrence of word-initial vowels

/aš/	hungry	/aal/	village
/ädet/	habit		
/edek/	hem	/eezi/	owner
/iš/	inside	/iile-/	use, employ
/ɪr/	song	/ɪɪš/	sound
/on/	ten	/ooŋ/	his/her
/öböy/	infant	/ööš/	gullet
/ulus/	nationality	/uurak/	colostrum
/üs/	fat, butter	/üür-/	blow, exhale

Of the seventeen distinctive vowels, twelve can occur in word final position with noteworthy exceptions of vowels *ii, öö, uu, üü.* Examples of each word final vowel are given in Table 12 below:

2.3.4.2 Vowel sequences

The basic syllable structure of Jungar Tuva constricts vowel sequences. Therefore, such sequences across syllable boundaries are relatively rare, and only occur in some loan words.

/dialekti/ dialect

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/šiawžaŋ/	principal
/dašüe/	university

Table 12: Occurrence of word-final vowels

/daŋka/	deaf	/žaa/	new
/wädä/	promise		
/erte/	early	/kiree/	saw
/žedi/	seven		
/aldɪ/	bottom	/žalɪɪ/	young man
/bo/	this	/boo/	gun
/tödö/	all		
/udu-/	sleep		
/bürgü/	flea		

2.3.4.3 Diphthongs

Jungar Tuva has many on- and off-glides (e.g., /koyug/ 'thick', /ay/ 'moon',), which should be analyzed as sequences of a consonant /y/ plus a vowel. They are not analyzable as diphthongs, because stems ending in off-glides always take consonantal-type suffixes (i.e., vowel-initial suffixes). Taking nouns with possessive suffixation as an

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example, we find that consonant-final nouns take the suffix *-i/-ɪ* in third person, while vowel-final noun stems take *-si/-sɪ*. (see Geng (1983) and Dwyer (1996)). For example: /xoy / 'sheep' and /xoy-ɪ / 'her/his/its sheep', not */xoysɪ / (cf. /kamžɪ / 'whip' and /kamžɪ-sɪ / 'her/his/its whip')

2.3.4.4 Vowel harmony

The most important phonological feature of Jungar Tuva is vowel harmony which is a common phonological process in Turkic languages. It is a kind of assimilatory process in that vowels within a word undergo changes that depend on the quality of other vowels in the word. There are two types of vowel harmony in Jungar Tuva: *palatal* harmony (where the tongue is back or front in the mouth.) and *labial* harmony (where the lips are rounded or unrounded). In palatal harmony, vowels within a word share the specification for backness and the prohibition on the coocurrence of back vowels and front vowels. In labial harmony, vowels within a word share the specification for rounding and the prohibition on the coocurrence of rounded vowels and unrounded vowels. Vowel Harmony applies within morphemes as well as across morpheme boundaries.

As noted above, the seventeen vowels in Junagar Tuva may be classified in terms of the following binary features of height, position and roundness. Characterization of the vowels according to these three features will help us understand the application of vowel harmony.

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Four high vowels: /i/, /ı/, /ü/, /u/

Five low or non-high vowels: /e/, /ö/, /o/, /ä/, /a/,

The same list, rearranged according to front-back position, is as follows:

Four back vowels: /ı/, /u/, /a/, /o/

Five front vowels: /i/, /ü/, /e/, /ä/, /ö/,

The feature of rounding divides the same list in the following way:

Four rounded vowels: /u/, /o/, /ü/, /ö/

Five non-rounded vowels: /ı/, /a/, /i/, /e/, /ä/

After having established the inventory of vowels with their above mentioned distinctive features, we can deal with vowel harmony based on the features backness and rounding as they manifest themselves within word boundaries. The following is a description of the basic principles governing vowel harmony within the word, in terms of cooccurences and cooccurrence restrictions between the vowels in different positions.

Vowel harmony within stems showing the feature of backness:

Back vowels		Front vowels	
adıg	bear	*ädil*	fair
arın	face	*erin*	lip
ırak	far	*inek*	cow

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oŋay	easy	*ösgüs*	orphan
ula-	tie up	*üle-*	divide

Vowel harmony within stems the feature of rounding:

Rounded Vowels		Unrounded Vowels	
orok	road	*aral*	island
örük	apricot	*edek*	hem
öböy	baby	*ädet*	habit
uzun	long	*ında*	there
üžün	thirty	*izig*	hot

The possible sequences of vowels patterned by the rules of backness and rounding are the following in Table 13:

2.3.4.5 Consonant distribution

Word-initial consonants:

All consonants may occur in word-initial position, freely, with eight noteworthy exceptions: *č,l, n, ŋ, r, w, y, z.* However, liquid *r* and glides *y, w* occur in word-initial position in some borrowed words:

/čokum/	certainly (U. < M.)
/lama/	lama (M. < Tib.)
/nan/	bread (K. < P.)

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/radio/ radio (R.)

/wagon/ railroad car

Loanwords beginning with nasals and liquids are often provided with prothetic vowels, e.g.; /lama/ [ɤlama] 'lama', and /radiyo/ [ɤrädijɔ] 'radio (set)'.

Table 13: The possible sequences of vowels

Front vowels		Back vowels	
Preceding vowels	Following vowels	Preceding vowels	Following vowels
	Front, unrounded		Back, unrounded
i	i, e, ä	ɪ	ɪ, a
	Front, unrounded		Back, unrounded
e	e, i, ä	a	a, ɪ
	Front, unrounded		
ä	i, e, ä		
	Front		Back
ü	ü, i, ä, ö, e	u	u, ɪ, o, a
	Front		Back
ö	ö, i, ä, ü, e	o	o, a, u, ɪ

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Word-final consonants

Jungar Tuva has a phonological rule that devoices syllable final stops, fricatives, and affricates. Therefore, no word final voiced stops, affricates, and fricatives except stop /g/ are found in Jungar Tuva. However, most of the time [g] alternates with [x].

/sarɪg/	[sʌrɤg]	~	[sʌrɤx]	yellow
/ulug/	[ʷʊlʊg]	~	[ʷʊlʊx]	big, great
/bɪšɪg/	[bɤʃɤg]	~	[bɤʃɤx]	solid

2.3.4.6 Consonant clusters

Jungar Tuva permits consonant clusters, but they are limited as to composition and to their position. No consonant clusters consisting of more than two consonants are permitted to occur within one syllable. Jungar Tuva only admits two consonant clusters. Consonant clusters are not found in word initially, but are admitted word-finally, and word-medially.

Word initial consonant cluster

Word initial consonant clusters are not permitted in general, except in a few words of foreign origin and in most cases are broken up by an epenthetic vowel, which usually undergoes vowel harmony with the stem. These initial clusters are only found in the pronunciation of some Kazak educated speakers. Thus, in copied lexical items such

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clusters are split by means of prothetic or epenthetic vowels; e.g. /istantion/ 'station', /kulub/ 'club'.

/plan/	'plan'	< plan
/kulup/	'club'	< club
/ɪstansiya/	'station'	< stantsia
/kiräm/	'gram'	< gramm

Word final consonant clusters

Consonant clusters are found word finally. The following types of consonant clusters are permitted in word final position. Some of these clusters are exclusive to monomorphemic (underived) words, other are exclusive to polymorphemic (derived) words, while others occur in both types of words.

/*ajt-*/	say
/*žurt*/	nation
börk	hat

The consonant clusters are only found within the syllable. The first member of the cluster is always a sonorant and the second member of the cluster is obstruent /t/ or /k/.

Word medial consonant clusters

Word medial consonant clusters are permitted if they are not tautosyllabic when each member of the cluster belongs to a different syllable. In other words, word medial clusters occur only across syllable boundaries.

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1. Stops + Stops:

/pt/	*eptix*	dexterous
/pd/	*epdešdirip*	carefully
/pg/	*ɛpgiš*	carrying pole, shoulder pole
/bt/	*abtomawel*	automobile
/tb/	*ketben*	hoe, mattock
/tk/	*satkın*	traitor, renegade
/tg/	*tutgun*	captive
/kb/	*gakbak*	lid
/kt/	*aktar*	wheat
/kd/	*dakday*	board
/gd/	*bogdu*	dam

The combinations of /bt/ and /tb/ occur only in foreign words:

Example: /bt/ *abtomawel* automobile < R.

/*tb*/ *ketben* hoe, mattock <U.

2. Stops + Fricatives:

/p s/	*dapsırma*	homework, task
/pš/	*dopšı*	button
/pž//	*opžok*	rude, clumsy

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/px/	*kitapxana*	library, bookstore
/bš/	*dobšuur*	*dombra*
/tž/	*šetžik*	sapling
/ks/	*aksak*	lame
/kš/	*akša*	money
/gš/	*bogšurga*	nightingale

The combination of /px/ occurs only in foreign words:

Example: /px/ *kitapxana* library, bookstore < P.

3. Stops + Nasals:

/km/	*akmak*	stupid
/tn/	*gatnas*	traffic, communication, relation

The combination of /tn/ occurs only in foreign words:

Example: /tn/ *gatnas* traffic <K.

4. Stops + Liquids:

/br/	*dobrak*	soil
/dr/	*adres*	address
/kl/	*doklat*	report
/gl/	*bagla-*	tie, bind
/gr/	*bugra*	male camel

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The combinations of /dr/ and /kl/ occur only in foreign words:

Example: /dr/ *adres* address <R.

/kl/ *doklat* report <R.

5. Stops + Glides:

/gw/ *agway* wife

6. Fricative + Stops

/sb/ *žosbar* plan

/st/ *bastır-* oppress

/sd/ *besder* we

/sk/ *askır* stallion

/sg/ *besgek* malaria, ague

/šp/ *näšbut* pear

/šb/ *üšbü* stone partridge

/št/ *baštık* leader

/šd/ *ašday* early

/šk/ *aškıyak* old man

/šg/ *bašgar-* manage

/xb/ *axbarat* news

/xd/ *boxda* Buddha

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The combinations of /xb/ and /xd/ occur only in foreign words:

Example: /xb/ *axbarat* news <K.

/xd/ *boxda* Buddha <M.

7. Fricative + Fricatives:

/xs/ *maxsat* goal, purpose

/xš/ *baxšı* teacher

The combinations of /xs/ and /xš/ occur only in foreign words:

8. Fricative + Nasals:

/xm/ *axmak* stupid

/xn/ *texnik* technician

The combination of */xn/* occurs only in foreign words.

9. Nasal + Stops:

/mb/ *ambar* storehouse

/mt/ *amtan* human being

/md/ *amdı* now

/mk/ *mümkün* possible

/np/ *kanpit* candy

/nt/ *ankılıx* special

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/nd/	*dündük*	skylight
/nk/	*banke*	bank
/ŋb/	*gaŋbi*	pen
/ŋk/	*daŋka*	deaf
/ŋg/	*doŋgurak*	razor

10. Nasal + Fricatives:

/ms/	*nomsaŋ*	library
/mš/	*nomšu-*	read
/mž/	*dumžuk*	nose
/ns/	*mänsäp*	post, official position
/nz/	*benzin*	gasoline
/nž/	*ganžaar*	how
/ŋs/	*dɪŋsɪg*	tight
/ŋš/	*biŋši*	dumpling
/ŋž/	*aŋžɪ*	hunter

The combinations of /ns /, /nz/ and /ŋš/ occur only in foreign words.

11. Nasal + Affricates:

/mč/	*kemčilik*	shortcoming

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12. Nasal + Nasals:

/nn/	*eginne-*	shoulder
/ŋm/	*duŋma*	younger brother
/ŋn/	*aŋna-*	hunt

13. Nasal + Liquids:

/mr/	*amrak*	sweetheart, lover
/ŋl/	*čaŋlıŋ*	salary

14. Liquid + Stops:

/lb/	*bolbasa*	or
/lt/	*altay*	Altay
/ld/	*aldı*	six
/lk/	*kalkak*	tea-spoon
/lg/	*algı*	broad
/rb/	*arba*	barley
/rt/	*artıš*	cypress
/rd/	*burdak*	muddy, turbid
/rk/	*kırkan*	elder, senior
/rg/	*arga*	way

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15. Liquid + Fricatives:

/ls/	*älsis*	weak
/lš/	*bolšug*	way of life
/lž/	*alžır*	tablecloth
/rz/	*arzalaŋ*	lion
/rš/	*aršı*	curd-cheese
/rž/	*mıržak*	hail
/rx/	*sonırxa-*	like, be fond of

16. Liquid + Nasals:

/lm/	*alma*	apple
/rm/	*armiya*	army
/rn/	*murnuu*	south

17. Liquid + Liquids:

/lr/	*torla*	mountain grouse
/rl/	*aarlı*	weight
/rl/	*erlik*	courage, heroism

18. Liquid + Glides:

/lw/	*alwatti*	the masses

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/rw/ *burwat* measles

19. Glide + Stops:

/wd/ *awdan* county

/yt/ *ayt-* say

/yd/ *aydagar* dragon

/yk/ *daykak* slippery

/yg/ *žayga-* gargle, rinse

20. Glide + Fricatives:

/*ws*/ *suwsun* drinks

/*ys*/ *maysa* meadow

/*yš*/ *kayšılık* contradiction

21. Glide + Nasals:

/*ym*/ *aymak* prefecture

/*yn*/ *dayna -* chew, masticate

22. Glide + Liquids:

/*yl*/ *aylık* wage

/*yr*/ *ayrıpalan* airplane

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The word medial clusters that are found in the corpus are shown in Table 14. The row indicates the first member of the cluster, the column lists the second member; '+' indicates that the cluster can occur, '-' indicates that it does not.

Table 14: Possible clusters in word medial position

	p	*t*	*k*	*b*	*d*	*g*	*s*	*š*	*x*	*z*	*ž*	*č*	*m*	*n*	*ŋ*	*l*	*r*	*w*	*y*
p	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
t	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
k	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
b	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
d	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
g	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-
s	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
š	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
x	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
z	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ž	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
č	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
m	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
n	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ŋ	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-
l	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
r	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-
w	-	-	-	-	+		+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
y	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-

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As the above examples of consonant cluster clearly demonstrate, word-medial consonant clusters in Jungar Tuva are common and are constrained in a fairly systematic way. The consonant cluster in Jungar Tuva has the following structural limitations:

1. Because of the syllable structure constraint on voiced fricative and affricate occurring syllable finally, these consonants (z, ž, č) cannot occur as the first member of a cluster.
2. Voiceless fricative /x/ and glide /w/ cannot occur as the first member of a cluster in native word except for loan words.
3. The only candidates for the first member of a word medial cluster in native words are: /p, t, k, b, d, g, s, š, m, n, ŋ, l, r, y/.
4. /s/ and /š/ can only be followed by stops as a second member of a cluster.
5. /p/ and /t/ cannot be followed by sonorant as a second member of a cluster.
6. /ŋ/ and /y/ can not occur as the second member of a cluster.
7. /p/, /č/ and /x/ can not occur as the second member of a cluster in native words but in loan words.
8. There are no geminate clusters: *pp, *tt, *kk, *bb, *gg etc.

2.4 Stress

Stress is important in Jungar Tuva, particularly because it interacts with syntactic phenomena like focus, back grounding and question formation. Furthermore, due to the

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existence of cliticized elements in the language, stress helps distinguish between those and genuine suffixes, since the two behave differently with respect to stress.

Stress in Jungar Tuva is predictable and therefore non-phonemic. The standard rule is that stress is placed on the final syllable of any word, which means that stress shifts to the final syllable with the addition of suffixes.

2.5. Morphophonemics

2.5.1 Elision

2.5.1.1 Vowel Deletion

In certain bisyllabic stems, the second syllable of stems has an unstable vowel. The second vowel is deleted if the suffixes with initial vowel are added, e.g.:

/murun/ 'nose' + /-u / '3rd.Poss.' → [murnu] 'his/her nose'

/moyun/ 'neck' + /-u/ '3rd.Poss.' → [moynu] 'his/her neck'

/murun/ 'nose' + /-um/ '1st.PL.Poss.' → [murnum] 'my nose'

/moyun/ 'neck' + /-um/ '1st.PL.Poss.' → [moynum] 'my neck'

In addition a suffix-initial vowel deletes if another a vowel precedes:

/nom/ 'book' + /-um/ '1sg.Poss.' → [nom-um] 'my book'

/öšgü/ 'goat' + /-m / '1sg.Poss.' → [öšgü-m] 'my goat'

/nom/ 'book' + /-uŋ /'2sg.Poss.' → [nom-uŋ] 'your book'

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/öšgü/ 'goat' + /-ŋ/ '2sg.Poss.' → [öšgü-ŋ] 'your goat'

/nom/ 'book' + /-ubus/ '1pl.Poss.' → [nom-ubus] 'our book'

/öšgü/ 'goat' + /-bus/ '1pl.Poss.' → [öšgü-bus] 'our goat'

/nom/ 'book' + /-ukar/ '2pl.Poss.' → [nom-ukar] 'your book'

/öšgü/ 'goat' + /-kar/ '2pl.Poss.' → [öšgü-kar] 'your goat'

An intervocalicalic /k/, /g/, /l/ or /r/ is often deleted. This process affects the present indefinite participle -ar/ır or third person possessive suffix –ı which retain their vowels.

/dag/ 'mountain' + /ı/ '3sg. Poss.' → [dɑ:] his/her mountain

/ buduk/ 'branch' + /u/ '3sg. Poss.' → [bʊdʊ:] its branch

/suw/ 'water' + /u/ '3sg. Poss.' → [sʊ:] his/her water

/öw/ 'house' + /ü '3sg. Poss.' → [ø:] his/her house

/kak-/ 'put' + /-ar/ 'PresIndef.' → [qɑ:r] who puts

/gel-/ 'come' + /-ir/ 'PresIndef.' → [ke:r] who comes

/bar-/ 'go' + /-ar/ 'PresIndef.' → [bɑ:r] who goes

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2.5.1.2 Consonant Deletion

By a productive process, suffix (or clitic) initial consonants delete after a preceding consonant:

/öšgü/ 'goat' + /-zü/ '3sg.Poss.' → [öšgüzuʏ/ 'his/her goat'

/alma/ 'apple' + /-zɪ/ '3sg.Poss.' → [almazɪ] 'his/her apple'

but

/nom/ 'book' + -u '3sg.Poss.' → [nomu] 'my book'

/xɪl/ 'string' + -ɪ '3sg.Poss.' → [xɪlɪ] 'his/her string'

Note that the suffix-initial [z] surfaces after a stem-final vowel, but that it deletes after a stem-final consonant.

2.5.2 Contraction

There are two examples in the corpus of a contraction process:

/al-/ 'take' + /-ɪp/ 'Ger' → [a-p] 'taking'

/bol-/ 'be' + /-ɪp/ 'Ger' → [bo-p] 'being'

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2.5.3 Assimilation

2.5.3.1 Vowel Harmony

Vowel harmony can be viewed as an assimilatory process and has been described above. Strong vowel harmony is one of the important features of Jungar Tuva. The distinctions front vs. back and rounded vs. unrounded are mostly neutralized in non-first syllables and both palatal and labial harmonies are applied in Jungar Tuva.

2.5.3.1.1 Palatal Harmony

Primary stems allow a free choice of front and back syllables. Palatal vowel harmony is a systematic neutralization of the phonological distinction of a vowel's backness in suffix syllables under the influence of a dominant vowel in immediate preceding syllable. This means that the front and back quality of the vowel in the last syllable of the stem determines the quality of a vowel or vowels in the following suffix. Therefore, front and back vowel harmony governs alternations between different forms of suffixes, e.g.:

/arga/ 'forest' + /-lar/ 'pl.' → arga-lar 'forests'

/elši/ 'ambassador' + /-ler/ 'pl.' → elši-ler 'ambassadors'

/at/ 'horse' + /-tar/ 'pl.' → at-tar 'horses'

/žıl/ 'year' + /-dar/ 'pl.' → žıl-dar 'years'

/bel/ 'waist' + /-der/ 'pl.' → bel-der 'waists'

/mešet/ 'oven' + /-ter / 'pl.' → mešet-ter 'ovens'

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/aŋ/ 'wild game' + /-nar/ 'pl.' → aŋ-nar 'wild games'

/kilem/ 'carpet' + /-ner/ 'pl.' → kilem-ner 'carpets'

Palatal harmony can also affect the whole syllable in those suffixes with consonants that also alternates. Thus, the dative suffix shows variants such as [-q^{h}ɑ], [-k^{h}e], [-ʁɑ], [-ge]:

/at/ 'horse' + /-ka/ 'Dat.' → /at-ka/ → [ɑtk^{h}ɑ] 'to horse'

/iš/ 'work' + /-ke/ 'Dat.' → /iš-ke/ → [išk^{h}e] 'to work'

/aal/ 'village' + /-ga/ 'Dat.' → /aal-ga/ → [ɑ:lʁɑ] 'to village'

/ene/ 'grandma' + /-ge/ 'Dat.' → /ene-ge/ → [^{j}enege] 'to grandma'

2.5.3.1.2 Labial Vowel Harmony

Labial vowel harmony implies neutralization of the distinction of vowel rounded vs. unrounded in suffix syllables. The principle of the labial harmony means that the rounded or unrounded quality of the vowel in the last stem syllable determines the suffix vowel. In Jungar Tuva, the labial harmony only affects high suffix vowels. Suffixes containing a high vowel have four possible realizations, because there is a choice between a rounded and an unrounded suffix-vowel ('labial harmony') as well as the front vs. back alternation. The following displays a fourfold harmony of the first-person possessive suffix:

/güš/ 'strength' + /-üm/ '1sg.Poss.' → güš-üm 'my strength'

/köl/ 'lake' + /-üm/ '1sg. Poss.' → köl-üm 'my lake'

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/duz/ 'salt' + /-um/ '1sg.Poss.' → duz-um 'my salt'

/don/ 'jacket' + /-um/ '1sg.Poss.' → don-um 'my jacket'

/dil/ 'tongue' + /-im/ '1sg. Poss.' → dil-im 'my tongue'

/aal/ 'village' + /-ım/ '1sg.Poss.' → aal-ım 'my village'

Because of this restriction to suffix vowels, the rounded vs. unrounded harmony is not as general in Jungar Tuva as the palatal harmony. For example, the roundedness of the Jungar Tuva stem vowels /u/, /ü/ and /o/, /ö/ are not reflect in the plural suffixes which has an underlying [-high] vowel and this exempt from the rounding harmony, as shown below:

/oruk/ 'road' + /-tar/ 'pl.' → oruk-tar 'roads'

/kün/ 'day' + /-ner/ 'pl.' → kün-ner 'days'

/ok/ 'bullet' + /-tar/ 'pl.' → ok-tar 'bullets'

/öw/ 'house' + /-ler/ 'pl.' → öw-ler 'houses'

2.5.3.2 Consonant assimilation

2.5.3.2.1 Progressive Assimilation

There is a general pattern whereby stops, fricatives, and affricates of different voicing quality do not combine in close juncture. This restriction holds both within and between morphemes. When suffixes or enclitics are added to stems of a particular phonological

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make-up, alternation between voiced and voiceless occurs. A suffix- or enclitic-initial stop assimilates to an immediately preceding segment in terms of voice. In other words, a suffix- or enclitic-initial consonant is realized as voiced where it follows a vowel or a voiced consonant, and it is realized as voiceless where it follows a voiceless consonant.

2.5.3.2.2 Devoicing

A suffix- or enclitic-initial consonant is realized as voiceless where it follows a voiceless consonant d > t, ž > č, g > k, d > t, d > t, etc., e.g.

/dag/ 'mountain' + /-dar/ 'pl.' → dag-dar 'mountain'

vs.

/oruk/ 'road' + /-tar/ 'pl.' → oruk-tar 'roads'

/aal/ 'village' + /-ga/ 'Dat.' → aal-ga 'to village'

vs.

/at/ 'horse' + /-ka/ 'Dat.' → at-ka 'to horse'

In progressive assimilation process, a suffix-initial consonant /l/ is realized as [d], [t], and [n] etc., e.g. in the plural suffix /-lar/:

/bala/ 'child' + /-lar/ 'pl.' → bala-lar 'children'

/žıl/ 'year' + /-dar/ 'pl.' → žıl-dar 'years'

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/bel/ 'waist' + /-der/ 'pl.' → bel-der 'waists'

/at/ 'horse' + /-tar/ 'pl.' → at-tar 'horses'

/mešet/ 'oven' + /-ter/ 'pl.' → mešet-ter 'ovens'

/aŋ/ 'wild game' + /-nar/ 'pl.' → aŋ-nar 'wild games'

/kilem/ 'carpet' + /-ner/ 'pl.' → kilem-ner 'carpets'

All word-final stops are phonetically voiceless. However, because of the rule of intervocalic voicing, the consonants p, k, x and c are voiced between vowels:

/at/ 'horse' + /ı/ '3sg. Poss.' → adı 'its horse'

/kanat/ 'wing' + /ı/ '3sg. Poss.' → kanadı 'its wing'

/esik/ 'door' + /i/ '3sg. Poss.' → esigi 'its door'

/kap/ 'sack' + /ı/ '3sg. Poss.' → kabı 'its sack'

/etik/ 'boots' + /i/ '3sg. Poss.' → etigi 'his/her boots'

2.5.3.2.3 Regressive assimilation

Final nasal consonant /n / assimilates in place [m] when it is placed before a suffix or clitic beginning in consonant /b/.

/min-/ + /be/ 'do not ride' → /senbe/ → [mimbe]

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/sen- / + /be/ 'do not trust' → /senbe/ → [sembe]

Final fricative /z/ assimilates in voice /s/ when it is placed before a suffix or clitic beginning in consonant /s/.

/tuz/ 'salt' + /suz/ '-less' → /tuzsus/ → [t^{h}ussus] 'without salt'

/žaz/ 'write' + /sa/ 'if' → /žazsa / → [žassɑ] 'if somebody writes'

2.5.4 Free morphological variation

2.5.4.1 Consonantal alternation

This variation is quite limited, occurring only in a handful of words. It always involves two consonants characterized by the same manner of articulation. The more common alternation is listed here:

/šay/	~	[čay]	tea
/malšɪ/	~	[malčɪ]	herder

2.5.4.2 Vowel Alternation

As noted above, the rounded vs. unrounded harmony is not consistent in Jungar Tuva. The roundedness of the Jungar Tuva stem vowels /u/, /ü/ and /o/, /ö/ can be lost in second syllables sometimes. Thus there can be a phonetic alternation between round vowels and unrounded ones; the rule applies to both front and back vowels:

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u → ɪ

/kodu/ → [kodu] ~ [kodɪ]

/olur/ → [olur] ~ [olɪr]

/bolur/ → [bolur] ~ [bolɪr]

ü → i

/ölür/ → [ölür] ~ [ölir]

/žödül/ → [žödül] ~ [žödil]

/öörür/ → [öörür] ~ [öörir]

ö → e

/tülöy/ → [tülöy] ~ [tüley]

/ötkör/ → [ötkör] ~ [ötker]

2.6 Extrasystemic phonology

There are some marginal sounds in Jungar Tuva which do not conform to the system described above. Such sounds are found in loan words, onomatopoeic forms, interjections and exclamations, and ideophones used for calling to animals.

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2.6.1 Loan words

With few exceptions Jungar Tuva speakers are also fluent in the local lingua franca languages Kazak and Mongolian which provide the richest sources of loan words. At all levels – lexicon, syntax, morphology and phonology – Jungar Tuva and Kazak share a great many features, so that Kazak words are frequently and easily assimilated into Jungar Tuva speech. A comparison of the phoneme inventories of both languages reveals that Jungar Tuva possesses all the vowel sounds of Kazak, but lacks the fricative /f/ and /h/. Borrowings containing these sounds are normally adapted to the phonemic (and where necessary, morphological) system in Jungar Tuva, although some speakers maintain the 'original' pronunciation. The following examples show the adaptation and pronunciation of Kazak borrowings into Jungar Tuva.

Kazak		Jungar Tuva		
qarındas	→	/karındas/	[q^{h}arındas]	younger sister

2.6.2 Onomatopoeic forms

[šar - šar] (sound of water)

[pičır - pičr] (sound of whispering)

2.6.3 Exclamations and Interjections

[ɛkɛkey] (expressing fear)

[ıju] (sound of pain)

2.6.4 Animal calls

[ʁuɾ - ʁuɾ] (to call a horse)

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2.7 Orthography used for examples and texts

I have attempted to transcribe the Jungar Tuva by following the phonological value of words for this adopted orthography. A traditional phonemic transcription is used in this study in order that the pronunciation of the examples will be maximally transparent. The orthography distinguished the vowel and consonant phonemes. Phonetically long vowels are represented as sequences of two vowels. The orthography does not distinguish the allophones of /š/, [ʃ] and [ʒ], /k/, [k] and [q], /g/, [g] and [ʁ]. The orthography uses symbols that in most cases correspond to the phonetic symbol of the IPA. The orthographic symbols proposed and used in this study are given in Table 17, with their corresponding phonemic symbol.

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Table 15: Proposed Orthographic System

SYMBOLS	PHONEMES
a	[ɑ]
aa	[ɑ:]
ä	[ä]
b	[b]
č	[č]
d	[d]
e	[e]
ee	[e:]
g	[g]
x	[x]
i	[i]
ii	[i:]
ɪ	[ɤ]
ɪɪ	[ɤ:]
ž	[ž]
k	[k^h]
l	[l]
m	[m]
n	[n]
ŋ	[ŋ]
o	[o]
oo	[o:]
ö	[ø]
öö	[ø:]
p	[p^h]
r	[r]
s	[s]
š	[š]
t	[t^h]
u	[ʊ]
uu	[ʊʊ]
ü	[ʏ]
üü	[ʏʏ]
w	[β]
y	[y]
z	[z]

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CHAPTER 3

Morphology

This chapter describes the structure of the words and the various parts of speech and other preliminaries which are distinguished in Jungar Tuva. Typically this involves the addition of suffixes to roots and stems, though other word formation processes such as reduplication and compounding are found.

3.1 Word Structure

The complexities inherent in establishing a universal definition of the notion of 'word' are well-recorded in linguistic literature. Even within one language, it is often the case that no single criterion or set of criteria can be applied to identify and define all those structural units one wishes to call 'word'.

In this chapter the term 'word' will be used in the sense of 'grammatical word', as distinct from the notion of 'phonological word'. For instance, the utterance */güšübüz/* 'our strength' is a single phonological word, with characteristic stress on the last syllable, but is grammatically a sequence of two elements, */güš/* 'strength' and */-übüz/* 'our', the latter morpheme being a clitic form of the first person plural suffix. Since the construction */güšübüz/* 'our strength' expands a noun phrase analogous to *bistiŋ güš* 'our strength', it is analyzed as consisting of two grammatical words, not one.

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Clitics are a special subset of words; they are monomorphemic, unstressed forms which never occur freely but are phonologically bound to an adjacent word. As the above example shows, they affect the stress placement of the word to which they are attached. Jungar Tuva has clitics for case, number, tense, voice, etc.

Suffixes are similar to clitics, in that they also are phonologically bound forms, but differ in that their structural domain is restricted to word formation. In the simplest cases, suffixes combine with roots to form words (e.g. *bil-*'know' + *-im*'(nominalier)' = *bilim* 'knowledge'. However, since this resultant form is itself capable of being further suffixed to create an adjective, as in *bilim* 'knowledge' + *dı* = *bilimdi* 'knowledgable', then it is also necessary to distinguish the level of Stem , intermediate between root and word.

Stems normally are constructions consisting of roots plus suffixes, but also may include reduplicated roots, compounds, and even phrases. In essence, a stem is a construction which has the potential for - and expectation of - further expansion via suffixation. Although it is possible for a morpheme to be simultaneously a root, a stem and a word, the term stem is used in this description to refer to some element which figures in a further morphological process. Recursion or layering of stems within stems is possible in Jungar Tuva.

Roots are forms which are morphologically unanalyzable. They differ from suffixes principally in that they constitute an open class (whereas suffixes are a closed set), and in that they are themselves capable of being suffixed. Structurally, a root constitutes the 'core' of a word. Semantically, roots carry the basic lexical information which is systematically modified by suffixes.

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Suffixes can be classified into inflectional and derivational suffixes according to their function. Inflectional suffixes do not change the lexical identity of the stem to which they are attached. Their function is to fit the stem for use in a syntactic frame, for example, voice marking for transitive verbs, or predicative and degree marking of adjectives. By contrast, derivational affixes create new words; that is, they change the lexical identity of the stem to which they are attached. This usually involves a change in categorial status (e.g. from noun to verb, or vice versa), but in a number of cases the resultant form belongs to the same word class as the stem from which it is derived.

3.2 Word Classes

3.2.1 Parts of speech

There are seven parts of speech in Jungar Tuva, determined by the inflectional and distributional, as well as semantic characteristics of each word. Generally speaking, these classes are mutually exclusive: each root belongs to only one class, although with the use of derivational suffixes, it is possible for a root to move its membership from one class to another. These derivational suffixes are discussed in 4.6 (derivational nominal morphology) and 5.2 (derivational verb morphology).

The parts of speech in Jungar Tuva are:

(1) NOMINALS

(i) nouns

(ii) adjectives

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(iii) pronouns

(iv) numerals

(2) VERBS

(3) ADVERBS

(4) POSTPOSITIONS

(5) PARTICLES

(6) INTERJECTIONS

(7) CONJUNCTIONS

Of these seven word classes, the main word classes of Jungar Tuva are nominal and verbs. These two classes have quite distinct morphological and syntactic characteristics. Nominals generally inflect for number by means of morphologically marked plural vs. unmarked singular and case and usually function as the arguments of the clause. The main nominal categories are nouns, adjectives, pronouns and numerals. Verbs on the other hand are inflected for tense, co-occur with an auxiliary and typically function as the predicate of the clause. Both nominals and verbs also have different derivational possibilities.

The word classes of Jungar Tuva can be divided into declinable (inflecting) word classes and indeclinable (non-inflecting) word classes. The declinable (inflecting) word classes comprise nominals and verbs, while the indeclinable (non-inflecting) word classes include the remaining parts of speech: adverbs, postpositions, particles, interjections, and conjunctions.

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3.2.2 Declinable word classes

3.2.2.1 Nominals

Nouns

Nouns are inflected for case and number, and can receive possessive suffixes in the appropriate contexts. The case suffixes play an important role in expressing the semantic and syntactic function of nouns in Jungar Tuva and are the most productive way to express syntactic functions of noun phrases. Nouns can exhibit nominal agreement markers in possessive noun phrases and occur in the position of the possessed nominal. In addition, nouns have certain derivational suffixes that only attach to nouns. Some examples of these suffixes are as follows:

mal	livestock	*malči*	herdsman
sıy	respect	*sıylık*	gift, prize
küre-	shovel	*kürek*	shovel
bas-	press	*basım*	pressure

Adjectives

Morphologically, there is generally little formal distinction between nouns and adjectives. Adjectives also are inflected for case and number. For the most part, adjectives and nouns in Jungar Tuva can be considered the same. Nouns can, for instance, be used as attributes, and adjectives can function as nouns.

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Besides these similarities, however, there are differences between nouns and adjectives that support the treatment of them as two different subclasses even though they are both contained within the larger superordinate class of nominals. These differences are semantic, morphological and syntactic. A particular lexical item is classified as an adjective if it is dominantly used attributively, and is used with comparative and superlative markers. (For more detailed discussion, see section 4.1.3 in Chapter 4.)

Adjectives also have certain derivational suffixes that are only attached to adjectives. Some examples of these suffixes are as follows:

šıdam	endurance	*šıdamdıg*	durable
yaš	wood	*yaštıg*	woody
aksa-	limp	*aksak*	lame
aš-	open	*ašık*	clean, open

Syntactically, adjectives generally precede the noun which they modify. Adjectives do not take any agreement markers of the number of the noun which they modify. Adjectives, unlike nouns or numerals, can be modified by adverbs of degree. For example:

eŋ arık 'the thinnest' dıka bedik 'the tallest '

eŋ izig 'the hottest' dıka ege 'the best '

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Pronouns

Pronouns belong to closed sets of lexical items. All pronouns substitute for entire noun phrases; further properties are given below. Pronouns consist of various types such as personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, possessive pronouns, reflexive pronouns and reciprocal pronouns. These differ from one another in terms of lexical form and their distribution. Pronouns can act as proforms for noun phrases, can be the object of postpositions and verbs and can take on case morphology. Hence, any word that belongs to any of the mentioned closed sets of words and exhibit appropriate syntactic and morphological behavior is a pronoun. (For a detailed discussion of the pronoun morphology, see sections 4.1.4).

Personal pronouns distinguish first, second and third persons, and singular and plural numbers. Gender distinctions are lacking, e.g. ol 'he, she' Personal pronouns form a morphologically distinct nominal subclass. The apparent root of reflexive pronouns is /bot/. Reflexive pronouns are inflected for number and person, and the resulting form for case. Demonstrative pronouns occur in place of noun phrases as well as in an initial position in them. In both instances they can be inflected for number and must be case-marked. Possessive pronouns are constructed from the base of a personal pronoun, the possessive marker, and are inflected for number and person, and possibly for case as well.

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Numerals

Numerals do not have any specific morphological markers. They are defined semantically. Numerals precede the noun, when they are used as modifiers; however, in partitive constructions where they are used as nouns, they follow the noun:

/aldı nom/	/nomnuŋ aldızı/
six book	book-Gen. six-Poss.
'six books'	'six books '

Tuva has lexical cardinal numerals for the units one to nine, for the tens ten to ninety, for hundred, for thousand, etc. Ordinal numbers are formed by suffixing -(ı)nč to the cardinal numerals. For compound numerals, the last part is suffixed. (For a detailed discussion of the morphology of numerals, see sections 4.1.5).

3.2.2.2 Verbs

Jungar Tuva verbs have a complex morphology. They are associated with voice, possibility, negation, aspect, mood, tense, person, interrogation, etc., normally in the order given here. A conjugated verb form normally consists of a verbal stem, a thematic suffix and personal marker. There are two sets of personal markers, of possessive and pronominal origin. The former (possessive type) is used in the simple past and the conditional, the latter (pronominal type elsewhere) in other paradigms. The imperative lacks a common thematic suffix and has its own set of personal markers.

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Both finite and non-finite verbs are marked for the tense and/or aspect. Verbs are uniquely determined by the inflectional suffixes for number and person they take, and in the case of nonauxiliary by suffixes for nonfinite forms, such as infinitive, or active, passive, gerund, participle. In nonfinite subordinate clauses verbs are inflected with case suffixes. (For a detailed discussion of the verb morphology, see sections 5.2 and 5.3 in Chapter 5).

There are many derivational possibilities for verbs. Verbs can be made into various voices such as transitive verbs, causative verbs etc through derivational processes. The verb derivational processes are discussed in 5.3.

3.2.3 Indeclinable word classes

3.2.3.1 Adverbs

Adverbs in Jungar Tuva typically function to modify the clause and occur in noun phrases either as modifiers of adjectives in simple noun phrases, or as modifiers of verbs in nominalized clauses. Most adverbs in Jungar Tuva are not formally distinguished from adjectives, and adjectives and other nominals may be used adverbially. However, there are certain types of adverbs that are clearly marked as adverbs. These are adverbs derived from adjectives or nouns by special suffixes, e.g. -ša. Some examples of these suffixes are as follows:

bala	**child**	**balaša**	**in a childish way**

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kuš	bird	*kušša*	like a bird
ool	boy	*oolša*	like a boy
mool	Mongol	*moolša*	in Mongolian

In Jungar Tuva, there are demonstrative adverbs such as ıdık 'like this/that', mındık 'thus'; space and direction adverbs such as örü 'upward', kudu 'downward', murnuyı 'ahead', ilgeri 'forwards', artqaru 'backwards'; manner adverbs such as šuluday 'fast' and erey 'slowly'; degree adverbs such as eŋ 'most, very', tuŋ 'extremely, very 'and time adverbs such as am 'now', düün 'yesterday', bögün 'today', üyide 'always', gaya 'sometimes', žaa 'just now', and dora 'now'. Interrogative adverbs are kandıx 'how', kaš 'how much/many', kay 'which' kayžer 'what place', kayda 'to where', kaynın 'from where', kašan 'when' and žü 'why'.

Adverbs can be derived from nominal forms by means of suffixes. The frequent suffixes forming adverbs are –lay/-ley, –day/-dey, e.g. bulay, 'this way' alay 'that way', suwday 'like the water', köldey 'like a lake'. Some adverbs are fossilized nominal forms with case endings, e.g. qišin 'in winter'. Others are formed with productive markers, e.g. mında ~ bunda 'here', mından ~ bundan 'from here', ında ~ onda 'there'. There are adverbs that are formed by means of reduplication, e.g. biči- biči 'gradually', erey- erey 'slowly'.

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3.2.3.2 Postpositions

Postpositions form a closed class of words. Most postpositions are independent morphemes that assign case to their nominal complement. Postpositions are characterized by their position since they immediately follow the noun phrase which they govern. Their complement nouns or noun phrases are generally marked by a case-marker immediately following the noun or the noun phrase. Postpositions may be classified according to preceding case of the noun phrase they govern. Postpositions that govern the nominative case include /bilen/ 'with, through, by', /kodı/ 'towards', /ušun/ 'for, in order of'. The postpositions /udur/ 'opposed to, against', /žedir/ 'till, as far as, up to' govern the dative case. Postpositions such as /baška/ 'besides, other than', /öske/ 'with the exception', /burun/ 'before', /beer/ 'since', and /keyin/ 'after' govern the ablative case.

Some examples are:

onsoonda bo göktogay bilen šingil awdan-dar-ı-nda da bar.

then this Köktogay and Shinggil county-Pl.-Poss.-Loc. also exist.
Then, there also are Tuvas in these Köktogay as well as in Shinggil counties.

bir giši bol-ur ušun bodıbıs-dıŋ dıba ult-ıbız-dı

one person be-Pr.Indef. for ourselves-Gen. Tuva nationality-2.pl.Poss.-Acc.
It would seem that we have to learn Mongolian in order to be people, in order to

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sakta-p kal-ır ušun moolša öörön-e-büz kerek irgin.

preserve-Ger. remain-Inf. for Mongolian learn-Inf.-1.pl.Poss. need particle

preserve our own Tuva ethnic identity. (said sarcastically)

onson, kogam-ga ülös-üp žor-or ušun söšžok

also society-Dat. follow-Ger. walk-Inf. for definitely

Also, it would seem that we definitely have to know Kazak in order to follow

kazakša bil-ir kerek irgin.

kazak know -Inf. need particle
along into society. (also said sarcastically)

men bodum-nıŋ žurd-um-nıŋ žer suw-ı tyaš daš-ı žönünde

I myself-Gen. hometown-Poss.-Gen. land water-Poss. tree stone-Poss. about
Please let me tell you, according to what I know, about the land and water,

bodum-nıŋ bil-gen-im-še siler-ge ayt-ıp ber-e-yin.
myself-Poss. know-PPart.-Poss.-particle you-Dat. say-Ger. give-Pr.Part.-1sg.Imp.
and the trees and stones pertain to my own hometown.

žurt-tı zorla-p kızıl üyök žük kodı göšür-di.
people-Acc. force-Ger. Kızıl Uyök direction towards relocate-Pst.
They forced the people to move towards the Kızıl Uyök.

meen aga-m bodum-nın burun bo mektep-din bütür-gen.

my elder brother-Poss. myself-Abl. before this school-Abl. graduate-PPart.

My elder brother graduated from this school before myself.

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mool dıl-ı-nen ***baška*** *kazak dıl* *bil-er-meen.*

Mongol language-Poss.-Abl. besides Kazak langauge know-Pr.Indef.-I

I know Mongolian, in addition to Kazak.

bulgun-nun ***baška*** *tödö mončakša* *bil-er.*

Bulgun-Abl. besides all Monchak know-Pr.Indef.

They all know Monchak, except Bulgun.

men düün-nün ***beer*** *žaka biž-ip* *žid-men.*

I yesterday -Abl. since letter write-Ger. lie-1sg.

I have been writing a letter since yesterday.

iyinči aga-m *o-nun* ***keyin*** *ge-ep* *bütür-gen.*

second elder brother-Poss. he-Abl. after come-Ger. finish-PPart.
My second brother came after him and graduated.

ol bis-tiŋ öö-ge ***udur*** *kel-e* *žıd-ır.*

he we-Gen. house-Poss.-Dat. towards come-Ger. lie-3sg.
He is coming towards our house.

ool-dar ürümži-ge žedir *bar-gan.*

child-Pl. Urumchi-Dat. till go-Ger.
The children went to (as far as) Urumchi.

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3.2.3.3 Particles

There are only a few particles in the corpus e.g. the negative particles; the negative interrogative. Particles are attached freely to any constituent of the sentence or to the sentence as a whole unit. Particles have grammatical functions, such as marking yes/no interrogative clauses, marking negation in declarative and imperative clauses, linking two finite clauses into one single complex clause. They are not inflected. Some examples of the particles are as follows:

The negative particle emes is used as a free morpheme (For more discussion, see section 4.3 and sub-section thereof).

kiši tözü deŋ emes. eki-si de bar, bagay-sı da bar.

person every equal not good-Poss. also exist bad-Poss. also exist

Everyone is not equal. There is both good and bad.

There are also tense-indifferent indirective copula particles of the type irgin which combine with nominal stems. The particle irgin tends to convey the meaning 'as is/was obvious' 'as it turns/turned out'

olar erte šag-da bo orus-tıŋ säbet žaysaŋ göl-ü xommalga

they early time-Loc. this Russian-Gen. soviet Zaysang lake-Poss. Hommalga

It seems that in earlier times they came from a place called Hommalga (near) this

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de-p žer-nen gel-gen irgin.

say-Ger. place-Abl. come-PPart. Particle.

Soviet Zaysang lake of the Russians.

žılgıžı ašgıyak ge-ep kıy de-er irgin.

horseman old man come-Ger. call-Pr.Indef. particle

The old horseman comes and calls (the old lady).

kek-tiŋ daman-ı kızıl bulu olup bol-gan irgin.

cuckoo-Gen. leg-Poss. red this way be-PPart. particle

The soles of the cuckoo became red in this way.

The negated copula particle is /žok/ 'non-existing', the counterpart of /bar/ 'existing'.

mında dört sumun de-en žurt bar.

here four district say-PPart. People exist

Here there are people who are called the Four Districts.

The enclitic particle. -dA 'and, also' obeys the rules of front vs. back harmony, e.g. men de 'me too', ol da 's/he too'

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aldı sumun-nuŋ da belen-tügön-nüŋ de tözün dıba de-p ada-ar.

six sumun-Gen. also everything-Gen. also all Tuva say-Ger. name-Pr.Indef.

The six districts and everything else are called Tuva.

3.2.3.4 Interjections

As in any language, there are a number of interjections in Jungar Tuva. Interjections can constitute a complete utterance on their own and are therefore distinguished from word classes such as adverbs and particles. Interjections do not really participate in the grammar of the language but serve to convey concisely the speaker's emotions, attitude, and reactions. Examples are given below:

/paa/ expressing admiration, praise, wonder

/pa/ expressing annoyance, regret

/pii/ expressing scorn, contempt

/put/ expressing anger

/xaa/ expressing surprise

/ux/ expressing fatigue

/xey/ expressing moan

/oy bay/ "Oh my Good!"

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3.2.3.5 Conjunctions

There are a few conjunctions in Jungar Tuva. In noun phrases, /baza/ 'and, also, again', *žäne* 'and', /bilen/ 'and, with', and emeszs 'or' indicate coordinative conjunctions, and the contrastive conjunctions is birak 'but'.

men-de az xoy bilen inek bar.

I-Loc. few sheep and cow exist

I have a few sheep and cows.

baza goŋgutu irgit de-p ayt-ır.

also Gonggutu Irgit say-Ger. say-Pr.Indef.

They also say Gonggutu is Irgit.

örgün-in beš metir emeze dört metir kıl-ıp ka-ar.

width-Acc. five meter or four meter make-Ger. put-Pr.Indef.

They make its width five meters or four meters.

üsd-ü-n xoyug ıyaš emeze sırgawbul-dın žon-ıp ka-ar.

top-Poss.-Acc. rafter wood or sirgawbul-Abl. plane-Ger. put-Pr.Indef.
They make the top by planing the rafter wood and sirgawbul.

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bodu-nuŋ dıl-ı dıba dıl, bırak dıba dıl-dıŋ bodu iš-ge

self-Gen. language-Poss. Tuva language, but Tuva language-Gen. itself work-Dat.

Their own language is Tuva, but Tuva by itself will not work.

as-bas. bis-diŋ nomna-d-ır žibe-biz žıŋ mool dıl-ı

pass-Neg. we-Gen. teach-Caus.-Pre.Indef. thing-2.pl.Poss. true Mongol language-Poss.

What we teach is pure Mongolian,

žäne ol dıl-dı öröd-ür kerek.

and that language-Acc. teach-Inf. necessary
and we have to teach that language.

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CHAPTER 4

Nominal Morphology

This chapter describes the nominal morphology based on the distinction between inflectional and derivational features. The nominal inflectional suffixes include categories of number, person, and case. The derivational suffixes include morphemes which have a lexeme-deriving function and derive new nominals from nominals as well as verbs.

4.1 Inflectional Nominal Morphology

The main nominal categories are nouns, adjectives, pronouns, and numerals. Nominal categories can be declined for number by means of a morphologically marked plural vs. an unmarked singular. There are six possessive suffixes marking the person and number of the possessor. There are six cases; among them five are marked and one is unmarked nominative. Since there is no grammatical gender in Jungar Tuva, pronouns and pronominal suffixes are always ambiguous; thus the third person /ol/can be interpreted as he, she or it.

Nominal suffixation

In Jungar Tuva, the nominal suffixation comprises a number suffix, a possessive suffix, and a case suffix. The ordering of the morphemes in the nominal phrase follows strict rules The order of suffixes is derivation + number + possessive + case.

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1. Plural marking precedes possession marking:

   baxšɪ-lar *-ɪ*

   teacher-Pl 3Poss

   'his/her teachers'

   makazɪn-nar *-ɪbɪs-*

   store-Pl. 1Pl.Poss

   'our stores'

2. Plural marking precedes case marking:

   baxšɪ-lar -ga

   teacher-Pl. Dat.

   'to the teachers'

   makazɪn-nar -dan

   store-Pl. Abl.

   'from the stores'

3. Plural marking precedes possession marking and case marking:

   baxšɪ-lar *-ɪ* *-na*

   teacher-Pl 3Poss- Dat

   'to his/her teachers'

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makazın-nar -ıbıs- -dan

store-Pl 1Pl.Poss- Abl.

'from our stores'

4.1.1 Nouns

Nouns semantically belong to the class of words whose core members refer to concrete objects. Noun also is defined by syntactic criteria. Nouns may function as subject and object in a clause and as nominal predicate in equative clauses. They are marked for number and case. The case suffixes of nouns play an important role in expressing the semantic and syntactic function of noun phrases in Jungar Tuva. There is no morphological gender distinction.

4.1.1.1 Number

Jungar Tuva distinguishes singular and plural and has a number marking system in nouns. The singular is not marked overtly; the plural is marked with the suffix *-lar/-ler*. The plural suffix is -lAr, which undergoes changes according to vowel harmony as well as consonant assimilation. The vowel undergoes only backness harmony since it is non-high; in other words, the morpheme can alternate only between -lar and -ler, depending on the backness of the last vowel in the stem. Therefore, the plural markers in Jungar Tuva are *-lar/-ler* with their allomorphic variants *-tar/-ter; -dar/-der; -nar/-ner*

Nouns that end with vowels, glides /y/, /ü/ and liquid /r/ take the plural *-lar/-ler* marker .

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baxšɪ	teacher	*baxšɪ-lar*	teachers
torgu	silk	*torgu-lar*	silks
ene	grandma	*ene-ler*	grandmothers
bürgü	flea	*bürgü-ler*	fleas
öw	house	*öw-ler*	houses
dalay	sea	*dalay-lar*	seas
xoy	sheep	*xoy-lar*	sheep
šalbur	pants	*šalbur-lar*	(pairs of) pants
däkter	notebook	*däkter-ler*	notebooks

Nouns that end with liquid /l/ take the plural *-dar/-der* marker .

ool	boy	*ool-dar*	boys
bal	honey	*bal-dar*	honeys
aal	village	*aal-dar*	villages
dɪl	language	*dɪl-dar*	languages
žɪl	year	*žɪl-dar*	years
bel	waist	*bel-der*	waists

Nouns that end with voiceless consonants take the plural *-tar/-ter* marker .

daš	stone	*daš-tar*	stones
belet	ticket	*belet-ter*	tickets

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inek	cow	*inek-ter*	cows
diš	tooth	*diš-ter*	teeth
örük	apricot	*örük-ter*	apricots

Nouns that end with liquid nasals take the plural *-nar/-ner* marker .

kün	day	*kün-ner*	days
arzalaŋ	lion	*arzalaŋ-nar*	lions
bazım	step	*bazım-nar*	steps
em	medicine	*em-ner*medicines	
kulun	colt	*kulun-nar*	colts

The system of marking number is obligatory whenever number marking is possible. In general, plural nouns refer to a counted or countable group of items, whereas the possible plural meaning of nouns unspecified for plural is more general and vague. However plurality is morphologically less consistently expressed, when the noun has numeral modifiers or certain quantifiers as modifiers; the plural marker does not usually combine with nouns that are quantified:

on kulun	*köp kiši*
ten colt	many person
'ten colts'	'a lot of people'

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4.1.1.2 Definiteness

Definiteness in noun phrases is not marked morphologically and nouns are not modified by means of definite or indefinite articles. Whether a noun is definite or indefinite can be only deduced from the context in which it is used. Definiteness can only be marked by means of the particular demonstratives: *bo* 'this/these', *sol* 'that/those' and *ol* 'that/those over there'. Therefore, nouns that co-occur with any one of these demonstratives can be interpreted as definite.

4.1.1.3 Indefiniteness

Indefiniteness is not marked morphologically in noun phrases in Jungar Tuva. However, the indefinite can be expressed via the indefinite determiner *bir* 'a', which is the same as lexical item, the number one *bir* 'one'. The lexical item *biraz* 'some' can be used as quantifiers for plural nouns to express indefinite. Nouns that are not overtly marked with the accusative markers express indefiniteness.

4.1.1.4 Possession Marking

Possession Marking

Nouns are marked for person and number, and may enter into phrases that express possession. Possession marking is indicated by means of person-specific suffixes of the

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person/number of the possessor on the possessed nouns. The possessive markers are the following forms:

Table 16: The possessive markers

Person	*Singular*	*Plural*
1p.	*-m -ım/im -um/üm*	*-bıs/bis -bus/büs*
		-ıbıs/ibis -ubus/übüs
2p.	*-ŋ -ıŋ/iŋ -uŋ/üŋ*	*-ŋar/ŋer -ıŋar/iŋir -uŋar/üŋer*
3p.	*-zı/zi -zu/zü -ı/i -u/ü*	*-zı/zi -zu/zü -ı/i -u/ü*

As noted in above table, nouns ending in vowels receive consonant-initial suffixes, while nouns ending in consonants take vowel-initial suffixes and both alternate with vowel harmony -backness.

The paradigms for *akša* 'money', *ene* 'grandma', *töš* 'chest', *süt* 'milk', *bal* 'honey', *doy* 'wedding', *žeŋ* 'sleeve', and *aldın* 'gold' as follows:

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Table 17: The paradigms of possessive markers

Gloss	*1s.g*	*2s.g*	*3s.g.*
akša 'money'	*akšam*	*akšaŋ*	*akšazı*
ene 'grandma'	*enem*	*eneŋ*	*enezi*
töš 'chest'	*tözüm*	*tözüŋ*	*tözü*
süt 'milk'	*südüm*	*südüŋ*	*südü*
bal 'honey'	*balım*	*balıŋ*	*balı*
doy 'wedding'	*doyum*	*doyuŋ*	*doyu*
žeŋ 'sleeve'	*žeŋim*	*žeŋiŋ*	*žeŋi*
aldın 'gold'	*aldınım*	*aldınıŋ*	*aldını*
	1p.pl.	*2p.pl.*	*3p.pl.*
akša 'money'	*akšabıs*	*akšaŋar*	*akšazı*
ene 'grandma'	*enebis*	*eneŋer*	*enezi*
töš 'chest'	*tözübüs*	*tözüŋer*	*tözü*
süt 'milk'	*südübüs*	*südüŋer*	*südü*
bal 'honey'	*balıbıs*	*balıŋar*	*balı*
doy 'wedding'	*doyubus*	*doyuŋar*	*doyu*
žeŋ 'sleeve'	*žeŋibis*	*žeŋiŋer*	*žeŋi*
aldın 'gold'	*aldınıbıs*	*aldınıŋar*	*aldını*

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The possessive relationship is expressed by using possessive noun phrases in which the personal possessive suffixes are attached to the possessed head noun. The possessor is marked with the genitive case suffix, while the possessed head noun of the phrase bears nominal agreement suffixes that alternate for the person and number features of the possessor.

kas-tıŋžumurga-zı

goose-Gen egg-Poss

'the goose's egg'

me-en ool-um

I-Gen son-Poss

'my son'

In Jungar Tuva, the case markers can be attached to possessive markers. The following is a case declension with possessive suffixes (see table 18):

Nouns ending in vowels receive consonant-initial suffixes, while nouns ending in consonants take vowel-initial suffixes.

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Table 18: Case with possessive markers

	1sg.	2sg.	1pl.	2pl.	3sg./pl.
colt	my colt	your colt	our colt	your colt	their/his colt
nom.	*kulunum*	*kulunuŋ*	*kulunubus*	*kulunuŋar*	*kulunu*
gen.	*kulunumnuŋ*	*kulunuŋnuŋ*	*kulunubustuŋ*	*kulunuŋarnuŋ*	*kulununuŋ*
acc.	*kulunumnu*	*kulunuŋnu*	*kulunubustu*	*kulunuŋarnu*	*kulunun*
dat.	*kulunumga*	*kulunuŋga*	*kulunubuska*	*kulunuŋarga*	*kulunuga*
loc.	*kulunumda*	*kulunuŋda*	*kulunubusta*	*kulunuŋarda*	*kulununda*
abl.	*kulunumnan*	*kulunuŋnan*	*kulunubustan*	*kulunuŋarnan*	*kulununan*
he-goat	my goat	your goat	our goat	your goat	their/his goat
nom.	*tegem*	*tegeŋ*	*tegebis*	*tegeŋer*	*tegezi*
gen.	*tegemniŋ*	*tegeŋniŋ*	*tegebistiŋ*	*tegeŋerniŋ*	*tegeziniŋ*
acc.	*tegemni*	*tegeŋni*	*tegebisti*	*tegeŋerni*	*tegezin*
dat.	*tegemge*	*tegeŋge*	*tegebiske*	*tegeŋerge*	*tegezige*
loc.	*tegemde*	*tegeŋde*	*tegebiste*	*tegeŋerde*	*tegezinde*
abl.	*tegemnen*	*tegeŋnen*	*tegebisten*	*tegeŋernen*	*tegezinen*

Here, it may be pointed out that the consonant /n/ is inserted before four of the case suffixes when they appear after the 3 person possessive suffix -si/sɪ, ɪ/i .

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Table 19: Case with 3 person possessive marker

	Case Marker	3 Possessive + Case marker
acc.	-nɪ	-(s)ɪn
loc.	-da	-(s)ɪnda
abl.	-dan	-(s)ɪndan
dat.	-gɪ	-(s)ɪnga

There is also a form of the have-construction, which marks possession in Jungar Tuva as well. In the have-construction, the possessor is expressed with the genitive, and the possessed head noun with a possessive suffix corresponding to the possessor in person and number, while the predicate is expressed with the copula particle *bar* 'have, there is, existence' or *žok* 'there is not, non-existence'.

me-en ool-um-nuŋ nom-ɪ bar.

I-Gen son-Poss-Gen book-Poss have

'my son has a book'

koŋur-nuŋ göbey mal-ɪ žok.

Kongur-Gen many livestock-Poss not have

'Kongur does not have many livestocks'

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There is also another form of the have-construction, which marks possession in Jungar Tuva as well. In this have-construction, the possessor is expressed with a locative, and the possessed head noun is only marked with number, while the predicate is expressed with copula particle *bar* 'have, there is, existence' or *žok* 'there is not, non-existence'.

kädir-niŋ duŋma-zɪ-nda žaa nom-nar bar.

Kadir-Gen sister-Poss-Loc new book-Pl have

'Kadir's younger brother has new books'

4.1.1.5 Case Marker

The case suffixes, are the most productive way to express the semantic and syntactic function of words in Jungar Tuva. Nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and numerals are marked for case. There are six morphologically marked cases expressed by case suffixes: nominative, genitive, accusative, dative, locative, and ablative.

The following table summarizes the forms of case inflection with all types of stems, classified in terms of their stem-final segment.

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Table 20: Case Inflections

	Nom.	Gen.	Acc.	Dat.	Loc.	Abl
Final Vowel						
front rounded	ø	nüŋ	nü	ge,dübe	de	nin
front unrounded	ø	niŋ	ni	ge, dibe	de	nin
back rounded	ø	nuŋ	nu	ga, duba	da	nan
back unrounded	ø	nɪŋ	nɪ	ga, dɪba	da	nan
Final Voiced Consonant except /l/						
front rounded	ø	nüŋ	nü	ge, dübe	de	nin
front unrounded	ø	niŋ	ni	ge, dibe	de	nin
back rounded	ø	nuŋ	nu	ga, duba	da	nan
back unrounded	ø	nɪŋ	nɪ	ga, dɪba	da	nan
Final Liquid /l/						
front rounded	ø	düŋ	dü	ge, dübe		din
front unrounded	ø	diŋ	di	ge, dibe	din	
back rounded	ø	duŋ	du	ga, duba		dan
back unrounded	ø	dɪŋ	dɪ	ga, dɪba	dan	
Final Voiceless Consonant except						
front rounded	ø	tüŋ	tü	ke, tübe	de	tin
front unrounded	ø	tiŋ	ti	ke, tibe	de	tin
back rounded	ø	tuŋ	tu	ka, tuba	da	tan
back unrounded	ø	tɪŋ	tɪ	ka, tɪba	da	tan

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Case suffixes

The cases are illustrated below by the forms of the nouns *bala* 'child', ene 'grandma', kün 'sun', xol 'hand', kurt 'worm', and iš 'work' for all cases.

Table 21: Examples of Case suffixes

	child	grandma	sun	hand	worm	work
nom.	bala	ene	kün	xol	kurt	iš
gen.	balanıŋ	eneniŋ	künnüŋ	xolduŋ	kurttuŋ	ištiŋ
acc.	balanı	eneni	künnü	xoldu	kurttu	išti
dat.	balaga	enege	künge	xolga	kurtka	iške
loc.	balada	enede	künde	xolda	kurtta	ište
abl.	balanan	enenen	künnen	xoldan	kurttan	išten

4.1.1.5.1 The Nominative Case

The nominative case always has zero-marking and basically functions to mark the subject of a verb as in examples below:

dıba-lar-Ø negizinen taraa tar-ıp žan ba-ar.

Tuva-Pl. basically grain grow-Ger. life care for-Pre.Indef.

The Tuvas basically get through life by farming (growing grain).

mončak-Ø iš-din dört-ge üle-n-er.

Moncha inside-Abl. four-Dat. divide-Pass.-Pr.Indef.

Monchak are divided into four.

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malčɪ-lar-Ø xoy kadar-ɪr, inek kadar-ɪr.

herder-Pl. sheep herd-Pr.Indf. cow herd-Pr.Indef.

Herders herd the sheep and herd the cows.

4.1.1.5.2 The Genitive Case

The genitive case is marked by the suffix -nɪŋ/niŋ, -nuŋ/-nüŋ after nouns ending in vowels or voiced consonants, -dɪŋ/diŋ, -duŋ/-düŋ after nouns ending in a liquid, and -tɪŋ/tiŋ, -tuŋ/-tüŋ after nouns ending in voiceless consonants. The genitive suffix marks the possessor of a possessive noun phrase and agrees in number and person with the possessed head noun. The genitive case denotes the possession.

alday-nɪŋ žedi gožuun dɪba-sɪ.

Altay-Gen. seven banner Tuva-Poss.

The Altay Tuva have seven banners.

bo dɪba ulut-u-nuŋ žalpɪ žagday-ɪ

Tuva nation-Poss.-Gen. general situation-Poss.

This is the general situation of the Tuva nation.

mool-dar-nɪŋ žagday-ɪ eki de-yir.

Mongol-Pl.-Gen. situation-Poss. good say-FPart.

It seems that the situation of the Mongols is good.

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4.1.1.5.3 The Accusative Case

The accusative case is marked by the suffix -nɪ/ni, -nu/-nü after nouns ending in vowels or voiced consonants, -dɪ/di, -du/-dü after nouns ending in a liquid, and -tɪ/ti, -tu/-tü after nouns ending in voiceless consonants. The accusative case denotes the direct object of a transitive verb. Its primary function is to mark definiteness on direct objects.

akkaba-nɪ iyi kɪstak-ka üle-er.

Akkaba-Acc. two Kistak-Dat. divide-Pr.Indef.

They divide Akkaba into two Kɪstaks.

bis-diŋ bo akkaba-da žurt-tu mončak de-er.

we-Gen. this Akkaba-Loc. people-Acc. Monchak say-PresIndef.

They call the people in this Akkaba of ours Monchaks.

keybir öw-lör üsd-ü-n daktayla-p al-ɪr.

some family-Pl. top-Poss.-Acc. lay board-Ger. take-Pr.Indef.

Some families lay boards on top.

An Indefinite object is always marked with a zero suffix.

men sigen-Ø kax-tɪ-m, baza barg bagla-dɪ-m.

I grass cut-Pst.1p. and bundle tie-Pst.1p.

I cut the grass and bundled them up.

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malčɪ-lar xoy-Ø kadar-ɪr, inek-Ø kadar-ɪr.

herder-Pl. sheep herd-Pr.Indf. cow herd-Pr.Indef.

Herders herd the sheep and herd the cows.

bis-diŋ bo akkaba-da žurt-tu dɪba de-er.

we-Gen. this Akkaba-Loc. people-Acc. Tuva say-Pr.Indef.

They call the people in this Akkaba of ours Tuva.

4.1.1.5.4 The Dative Case

The dative case is marked by the suffix -ga/ge after nouns ending in vowels or voiced consonants, and -ka/ke after nouns ending in voiceless consonants in Jungar Tuva. The dative basically indicates the direction towards.

kogam-ga ülös-üp žor-or ušun söšžok kazakša bil-ir kerek.

society-Dat. follow-Ger. walk-Inf. for definitely kazak know -Inf. need

We definitely have to know Kazak in order to follow along into society.

dɪba-lar-nɪ tözün gožuun-ga üle-p-dir.

Tuva-Pl.-Acc. all banner-Dat. divide-PNarr.

They divided all the Tuvas into banners.

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monČak iš-din dört-ge üle-n-er.

Moncha inside-Abl. four-Dat. divide-Pass.-Pr.Indef.

Monchak are divided into four

dedir gößür-üp akkaba-ga äkel-di.

backward relocate-Ger. Akkaba-Dat. bring-Pst.

They moved them back and brought them to Akkaba.

akkaba bis-diŋ kaba awdan-ga karatdın-ır.

Akkaba we-Gen. Kaba county-Dat. belong-Pr.Indef.

Akkaba belongs to our Kaba county.

amdı demal-ı-ga ün-üp žet-tı-m men.

Now rest-Inf.-Dat. enter-Der. reach-Pst.-1.sg. I

Now I am retired.

The dative suffix can be used to mark location (although the locative suffix is more commonly used with this function.

bo žoŋgo-ga dur-gan dıba-lar alday aymak-ı-nda dur-ar.

this China-Dat. stay-PPart. Tuva-Pl. Altay district-Poss.-Loc. stay-Pr.Indef.

These Tuvas who live in China live in the Altay district.

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öw-niŋ iš-i-ŋge gene domakdan-ar-bız.

house-Gen. inside-Poss.-Dat. only speak-Pr.Indef

We only speak it at home.

4.1.1.5.5 The Locative Case

The locative case is marked by the suffix -da/de after nouns ending in vowels or voiced consonants, and -ta/te after nouns ending in voiceless consonants in Jungar Tuva. The locative basically indicates position in space and time.

bis-diŋ bo akkaba-da žurt-tu dıba de-er.

we-Gen. this Akkaba-Loc. people-Acc. Tuva say-Pr.Indef.

They call the people in this Akkaba of ours Tuva.

eŋ bičii ga-ar-da dört bölmölüg ga-ar.

most small put-Pr.Part.-Loc. four room put-Pr.Indef. it-Gen.

When they put up the smallest (house) they make four rooms.

bo žoŋgo-ga dur-gan dıba-lar alday aymak-ı-nda dur-ar.

this China-Dat. stay-PPart. Tuva-Pl. Altay district-Poss.-Loc. stay-Pr.Indef.

These Tuvas who live in China live in the Altay district.

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buwɪršɪn awdan-ɪ-nɪŋ xom-ɪ-nda, xanas-ɪ-nda bar.

Buwɪrshɪn county-Poss.-Gen. Kom-Poss.-Loc. Kanas-Poss.-Loc. exist

There are Tuvas in Kom and Kanas (villages) of the Buwɪrshɪn county.

4.1.1.5.6 The Ablative Case

The ablative case is marked by the suffix -nan/nen after nouns ending in vowels or voiced consonants except liquid /l/, -dan/den after nouns ending in liquid /l/, and -tɪ/ti, -tu/-tü after nouns ending in voiceless consonants in Jungar Tuva. The ablative case is used to indicate motion or direction away from a location or object.

žasdɪ mool-dan gel-gen tört taŋma bol-gan.

nickel silver Mongol-Alb. Come-PPart. four seal be-PPart.

There were four seals which came from the Mongols.

meen aga-m sezen aldɪnčɪ žɪl bo mektep-din bütür-gen.

my elder brother-Poss. eighty sixth year this school-Abl. graduate-PPart.

My elder brother graduated from this school in 1986.

o-ŋ üsd-ɪ-nin čigen ka-ar.

it-Gen. top-Poss.-Abl. hay put-Pr.Indef.

They put hay on top of it.

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bes žüs žeže žıl-dan artık bol-gan.

five hundred many year-Abl. more be-PPart.

It has been more than five hundred something years.

dörtdön tozınčı žıl-dın bašta-p mektep-te mugalım bol-du-m.

forty ninth year-Abl. start-Ger. school-Loc. teacher be-Pst.-1.sg.

I have been a teacher at the school since1949.

dört žüs sesen tın-nın käzir üš žüs tozan tın kal-dı.

four hundred eighty life-Abl. now three hundred ninety life remain-Pst.

Of 480 people of 1949, now 390 people remain.

žeŋes-diŋ üsd-ü-nün ıyaš ga-ar.

moss-Gen. top-Poss.-Abl. wood put-Pr.Indef.

They put logs on top of the moss.

The ablative case maker denotes the materials:

gidis öw-nıŋ iš-i-n ıyaš-dan žɑza-ar.

felt house-Gen. inside-Poss.-Acc. wood-Abl make-Pr.Indef.

They make the inside of the felt house out of wood.

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keybiresi ak doburak ka-aš-dɯn, tapda-p al-ɯr.

some one white earth put-Ger.-Abl. trample-Ger. take-Pr.Indef.

Some of them, after putting down kaolin (clay), trample it (down).

The ablative case is sometimes used to indicate instrumental function:

soŋgu žük kazakstan-nɯn šegäräli.

north side Kazakstan-Gen. share the border

The north side has a border along Kazakstan.(men)

key birei malčɨ-nɯn žan ba-ar.

certain some herdsman-Abl. life care for-Pre.Indef.

Certain ones get through life as herders.

4.1.2 Adjectives

Adjectives are forms which express stative attributes to nouns and precede a nominal head in a noun phrase. Adjectives are not clearly distinguished from nouns in morphological respects. Many nouns can function as attributes. Besides these similarities, however, there are differences between nouns and adjectives that support the treatment of them as two different subclasses even though they are both contained within the larger superordinate class of nominals. These differences are semantic, morphological and

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syntactic. A particular lexical item is classified as adjective if it is dominantly used attributively, and is used with comparative and superlative markers.

The comparative degree of adjective in comparative constructions is marked by a comparative suffix -kir/kir, which may also simply signal a high degree of property, e.g. gök –gökir 'more, very much'.

Intensive forms may be formed from adjectives and adverbs with a preposed reduplication of the first syllable. Reduplication is used in Jungar Tuva in a productive way. The reduplicated morpheme often carries a specific meaning which can be contrasted with the non-reduplicated from. Adjectives usually have reduplicated forms, being derived from unduplicated adjectives. Reduplication consists of the repetition of the initial (C) V of the stem. The reduplicant then is formed with this (C) V+ p and prefixed to the base. This process of prefixing reduplication has the function of intensification in adjectives and adverbs. It is particularly productive in adjectives.

/ap/ 'prefix' + [ak] 'white'	→	ap - ak 'very white'
/göp/ 'prefix' + [gök] 'blue'	→	göp - gök 'very blue'
/nop/ 'prefix' + [nogan] 'green'	→	nop - nogan 'very green'
/kıp/ 'prefix' + [kızıl] 'red'	→	kıp - kızıl 'very red'

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Comparatives and Superlatives of adjectives also are formed analytically with the particles dagi 'very' and eŋ 'extremely', e.g. tagi kedey 'poorer', eng kedey 'poorest'. There is a comparative construction in which the thing compared is in ablative case, e.g. odan uzun 'much longer than that'.

4.1.3 Pronouns

Pronouns belong to closed sets of lexical items. All pronouns substitute for entire noun phrases; further properties are given below. Pronouns consist of various types such as personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, possessive pronouns, reflexive pronouns and reciprocal pronouns. These differ from one another in terms of lexical form and their distribution. Pronouns can act as proforms for noun phrases, can be the object of postpositions and verbs and can take on case morphology. Hence, any word that belongs to any of the mentioned closed sets of words and exhibits appropriate syntactic and morphological behavior is a pronoun.

4.1.3.1 Personal pronouns

Jungar Tuva personal pronouns inflect for case and can appear in all grammatical functions. The personal pronouns are usually optional when functioning as subject in an independent statement, because the person is indicated by the form of the verb. The verb agrees with the pronoun in number and person. The presence of the pronoun often leads to emphasis.

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Jungar Tuva has first, second and third person pronouns singular and plural. There is no difference between feminine and masculine in the third person. A formal status is distinguished in formal, polite speech only in the second person. The nominative forms of personal pronouns are the following:

Table 22: Personal pronouns

Person	Singular	Plural
first	men	bis, bister
second (familiar)	sen	senner
second (polite)	siler	sileler
third	ol	olar, olalar

Case system in personal pronouns

As noted before, the person pronouns are inflected for the same case as nouns. The regular case system applies to pronouns, just as it does to regular nouns. The case of the personal pronouns is formed by attaching one of the allomorphs of the case suffix. In the following pronominal paradigms all pronouns have alternative forms with the nominative forms of the pronouns attached before them. The table in 23 shows the shapes pronominal forms take in all person and number combinations for all cases.

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Table 23: Case marking of personal pronouns

Singular	I (first)	you (familiar)	you (polite)	he, she, It(Third)
nom.	men	sen	siler	ol
gen.	meeŋ	seeŋ	silerniŋ	ooŋ
acc.	meni	seni	silerni	onu
dat.	menge	senge	silerge	ınga
loc.	mende	sende	silerde	ında
abl.	mennen	sennen	silernen	onun
Plural	we (first)			they (Third)
nom.	bis	senner	silerler	olar
gen.	bistiŋ	sennerniŋ	silelerniŋ	olarnıŋ
acc.	bisti	sennerni	silelerni	olarnı
dat.	biske	sennerge	silelerge	olarga
loc.	biste	sennerde	silelerde	olarda
abl.	bisten	sennernen	silelernen	olarnan

Number marking for pronouns

The only number distinction made in pronouns is singular and plural, as can be seen in the above table. It should also be noted that the second person plural form **siz** can also be as a form of politeness for the second person singular as well.

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4.1.3.2 Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns mostly distinguish several deistic types for which features such as choice, distance and visibility seem to be relevant. Tuva has at least three-way systems: singular bo, sol, ol, 'near' vs. 'further away' and plural bular solar olar.

1. There are three demonstrative pronouns in Jungar Tuva.

   bo 'this one' (closer to speaker)

   sol 'that one' (farther away from the speaker)

   ol 'that one' (far away from the speaker)

2. Demonstrative pronouns are marked for number; the distinction between singular and plural is marked as shown in the tables and examples of subsections 22, below:

   bo 'this one' → bular

   sol 'that one' → solar

   ol 'that one' → olar

There are corresponding series of demonstrative nominals and adverbs, e.g. mndı 'here, this place', osıdan 'from here', Corresponding interrogatives are kayda 'where', kaydan 'from where', kayda 'where to'.

Case marking in demonstrative pronouns:

Demonstrative pronouns can be marked with all of the case suffixes: (see below Table 24.) The cases are expressed in demonstrative pronouns by using the same suffixes as

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those used to express case in nouns. The table and examples illustrate the various cases in demonstratives.

Table 24: Case marking of demonstrative pronouns

Singular	This one	That one	That one (yonder)
nom.	bo	sol	ol
gen.	bonɪŋ	sonuŋ	onuŋ
acc.	bonɪ	sonu	onɪ
dat.	boga	sogan	ɪnga
loc.	boda	sol	ɪnda
abl.	bonan	sol	onun
Plural	This one	That one	That one (further)
nom.	bolar	solar	olar
gen.	bolarnɪŋ	solarnɪŋ	olarnɪŋ
acc.	bolarnɪ	solarnɪ	olarnɪ
dat.	bolarga	solarga	olarga
loc.	bolarda	solarda	olarda
abl.	bolarnan	solarnan	olarnan

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4.1.3.3 Possessive Pronouns

Absolute forms of possessive pronouns are formed by adding genitive case markers to the personal pronouns. The absolute possessive pronouns may be declined as nouns that have the 3rd possessive ending.

Person	Singular	Plural
1st.	meenii	bistii
2nd. (familiar)	seenii	sennernii
2nd. (polite)	silernii	silelernii
3rd.	oonıı	olarnıı

4.1.3.4 Reflexive Pronouns

Jungar Tuva does have a reflexive pronoun. The reflexive pronoun is *bot* 'self', to which the possessive suffix is attached in its reflexive use to indicate the person of the subject to which the pronoun refers to and to express number. Below are the nominative forms of these pronouns.

Person	Singular	Plural
1st	bodum	bodumbuz
2nd	boduŋ	boduŋar
3rd	bodu	bottarı

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Reflexive pronouns are marked for case, as the table below shows.

Table 25: Case marking of reflexive pronouns

Singular	I (first)	you (Second)	he, she, it(Third)
nom.	bodum	boduŋ	bodu
gen.	bodum	boduŋ	bodu
acc.	bodum	boduŋ	bodu
dat.	bodum	boduŋ	bodu
loc.	bodum	boduŋ	bodu
abl.	bodum	boduŋ	bodu
Plural	we (first)	you (Second)	they (Third)
nom.	bodubuz	boduŋar	bottarı
gen.	bodubuz	boduŋar	bottarı
acc.	bodubuz	boduŋar	bottarı
dat.	bodubuz	boduŋar	bottarı
loc.	bodubuz	boduŋar	bottarı
abl.	bodubuz	boduŋar	bottarı

Some examples are:

bodu-nuŋ dıl-ı *dıba dıl.*

self-Gen. language-Poss. Tuva language.

Their own language is Tuva.

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men bodum-nıŋ žurd-um-nıŋ žönünde-gi žer suw kandıg

I myself-Gen. hometown-Poss.-Gen. pertain to-Rel. land water how
Please let me tell you, according to what I know, about the general situation of

ıyaš daš-ı žönünde bodum-nıŋ bil-gen-im-še siler-ge
tree stone-Poss. about myself-Poss. know-PPart.-Poss.-particle you-Dat.
the Tuva nation and the land and water, and what kind of trees and stones

ayt-ıp ber-e-yin.
say-Ger. give-Pr.Part.-1sg.Imp.
pertain to my own hometown.

bis bodubuz išd-ibiz-de dıba-bız.

we ourselves inside-1pl.Poss.-Loc. Tuva-we.

We call ourselves Tuva among ourselves.

4.1.3.5 Reciprocal pronouns

Reciprocal Pronouns are formed with birbir + possessive suffix e.g. birbirimiz "each other of us', There are also reciprocal pronouns, mostly of the type bir(i)biri 'each other'. There are reciprocal pronouns which are formed by the duplicated morpheme bir 'one', to which appropriate possessive suffixes are attached. Reciprocal pronouns are marked for case.

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4.1.3.6 Interrogative pronouns

The general interrogative pronouns in Jungar Tuva are *kim* 'who' and žü 'what', with the former being used in reference to humans and the latter to nonhumans. They are marked for plural and also marked for cases. Jungar Tuva has a number of interrogative pronouns; the most generally used ones are listed below:

kim	'who'
žü	'what'
kayda	where
kaysi	'which'
nege	'why'
neden	'why'
kaylap	'how'
kayga	'(to) where'
kanša	how many/much
kašan	when

4.1.4 Numerals

Tuva has lexical cardinal numerals for the units one to nine, for the tens ten to ninety, for hundred, and for thousand.

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1. The cardinal numerals up to ten are:

1 bir	6 aldı
2 iyi	7 žeže
3 üš	8 ses
4 dört	9 tos
5 beš	10 on

2. The cardinal numeral from 11 to 19 are of the form 10 + unit.

11 on bir

12 on iyi

13 on üš

14 on dört

15 on beš

16 on aldı

17 on žedi

18 on ses

19 on tos

2.The 'twenty' is : žerbe

The tens from thirty to ninety are of the multiplicative type unit + ten, though there morphophonological changes.

30 üšün

40 dörtün

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50 bešen

60 aldan

70 žeden

8 sesen

9 tosan, sesen

Higher numerals are žüs 'hundred' and mıŋ 'thousand'. Complex numbers are formed by compounding, the highest decimal place being on the left. Hundreds, thousands, etc. are expressed multiplicatively, e.g. bir mıng altı žüs aldan iyi '1662'.

Ordinal numerals are formed by the addition of -(I)*nši* to the cardinal numerals:

bir	birinši	'1st'
iyi	iyinši	'2nd'
üš	üšinši	'3rd'
dört	dörtinši	'4th'
beš	bešinši	'5th'
aldı	aldınšı	'6th'
žeže	žeženši	'7th'
ses	sesinši	'8th'
tos	tosınšı	'9th'
on	onınšı	'10th'

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4.1.5 Personal Markers (on Nominal Predicates)

Copulas: The present copula is 1p.sg. -(y)Am, 2p.sg. sAn, 3p. sg. -0, 1p.pl. -(y)Ik, 2p.pl. -sIngiz, 3.p. pl.. The past copula particle consists of the simple past of the defective verb*i-. The copula particle irgin signals indirectivity. The conditional particle is -sa. The word emes is used for negation, e.g. emespiz 'we are not'. Existence is expressed by bar, non-existence by žok.

4.2 Derivational Nominal morphology

Derived Nouns

This subsection presents the derivation of nouns both from 'true nouns' and from nominal adjectives, since these categories are both morphologically and syntactically very similar, and the mechanism of derivation and the suffixes involved are often the same.

A number of the devices discussed here are also de-adjectival derivational suffixes and will reoccur in the appropriate section.

Nouns from Nouns

1. The suffix *-žI/ži, -šI/ši*

The suffix *-žI/ži, -šI/ši* is used to derive nouns from nouns that designate occupations (professional) or doer/agent (of the noun).

mal	livestock	*malči*	herdsman

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temir	iron	*temirši*	blacksmith
aŋ	game	*aŋžı*	hunter
yaš	wood	*yašši*	carpenter
dıl	language	*dılšı*	journalist
baš	head	*bašši*	boss, leader
žılgı	horse	*žılgıči*	stable-man

2. The suffix *-žı/ži, -šı/ši*

The suffix *-žın/žin, -šın/šin* is borrowed from Mongolian to derive nouns from nouns which mean occupations, doer/agent (of the noun).

mal	livestock	*malčin*	herdmen
ažıl	work	*ažılčın*	worker
aŋ	game	*aŋžı*	hunter
kulak	ear	*kulakčin*	ear cover

3. The suffix *-ıškılar/iškiler,*

The suffix *-ıškılar/iškiler,* is used to derive nouns from nouns to mean kinship and association.

eš	friend	*ešišgiler*	friends
aba	mother	*abalıškılar*	mother and her children
ača	father	*ačalıškılar*	father and his children

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egiže	elder ister	*egiželešgiler*	sisters

4. The suffix *-lık/lik,dık/dik, tık/tik*

The suffix *-lık/lik, dık/dik, tık/tik* (abstractness suffix '-ness') is used to derive abstract nouns from nouns:

sıy	respect	*sıylık*	gift, prize
doy	wedding	*doylık*	bride-price
dos	friend	*dostık*	friendship
bas	head	*basdık*	boss, leader

5. The suffix *-xana,*

The suffix *-xana* is used to derive nouns from nouns from which it has come to mean the place or institution of the noun. It is borrowed from Kazak, where it is Persian in origin. All the following examples represent Kazak words.

dokturdoctor		*dokturxana*	hospital
kitap	book	*kitapxana*	bookstore
basba	publication	*basbaxana*	publishing house

Nouns from Verbs

1.The suffix *-ık/ik, -uk/ük, -k*

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The suffix *-ık/ik, -uk/ük, -k* is used to derive nouns from verbs which mean 'result of action':

küre-	shovel	*kürek*	shovel
kada-	nail	*kadak*	nail
elge-	sieve	*elgek*	sieve
biži-	write	*bižik*	letters
budu-	paint, decorate	*buduk*	paint
ut-	win	*uduk*	win, prize

2. The suffix *-ıš/iš, -uš/üš, -š*

The suffix *-ıš/iš, -uš/üš, -š* is used to derive nouns from verbs which mean result or product of an action.

tanı-	get acquainted	*tanıš*	acquaintance, friend
sok-	fight	*soguš*	fight
baylan-	be attached	*baylanıš*	relations

3. The suffix *-ıškın/iškin, -uškun/üškün,*

The suffix *-ıškın/iškin, -uškun/üškün,* is used to derive abstract nouns from verbs from which it has come to mean result or product of an action.

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ber-	give	*beriišgin*	offerings
kör-	see	*körüüškün*	review, inspection
al-	take	*alıškın*	taking
bol-	be(come)	*boluuškun*	happening

4. The suffix *-ım/im, -um/üm, -m*

The suffix *-ım/im, -um/üm, -m* is used to derive abstract nouns from verbs which mean result or product of an action.

bas-	press	*basım*	pressure
bil-	know	*bilim*	knowledge
tut-	hold	*tudum*	handful
öl-	die	*ölüm*	death
ak-	flow	*agım*	current, course, flow

5. The suffix *-l*

The suffix *-l* is used to derive abstract nouns from verbs which mean result or product of an action.

boda-	think	*bodal*	thought

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saktɪ-	miss	*saktɪl*	longing for
kayka-look		*kaykal*doubt	
makta-	praise	*maktal*	praising
komda-	regret	*komdal*	remorse

6. The suffix *-rlga/ilge, -ulga/ülkge,*

The suffix *-rlga/ilge, -ulga/ülkge* is used to derive abstract nouns from verbs which mean result or product of an action.

bašda-	start	*bašdalka*	beginning
boda-	think	*bodalka*	thought
biži-	write	*bižilge*	handwriting
žütkü-	try	*žütkülge*	effort
ul-	connect	*ululka*	combination
sɪn-	test	*sɪnɪlka*test	

7. The suffix *-eš/aš*

The suffix *-eš/aš* is added to a verb root to produce a noun stem with the meaning 'result or product of an action', for example:

root	stem

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bilekte-	put on the wrist	*bilekteeš*	bracelet
sirliŋe-	shake	*sirliŋeeš*	head shaking

The root *-eš/aš* seems to be a borrowing from Mongolian and it is not productive. (recorded by Chen (1980)).

8. The suffix *-ɪmal/imel, -umal/ümel, mal/mel*

The suffix *-ɪmal/imel, -umal/ümel, mal/mel* is added to a verb root to produce a noun stem meaning 'result or product of action', for example:

root		stem	
žor-	walk, go	*žorɪmal*	pedestrian
biži-	write	*bižimel*	document, manuscript
žaza-	make	*žazamal*	product, article
kel-	come	*kelimel*	comer
darɪ-	publish	*darɪmal*	publishing
žur-	paint	*žurumal*	painting
tar	plant	*tarɪmal*	growing

9. The suffix *-kɪš/gɪš*

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The suffix *-kıš/gıš* is added to a verb root to produce a noun stem meaning 'result or product of an action', for example:

root		stem	
guy-	pour	*guygıš*	funnel
baš-	step on	*baškıš*	stair
kıs-	press	*kıskıš*	clip
özür-	erase	*özürgiš*	eraser

Adjective

1. Adjectives from nouns

1. The suffix *-lıg/lig, dıg/dig, tıg/tig*

The suffix *-lıg/lig, -lık/lik, dık/dik, tık/tik* is used to derive adjectives from nouns with the meaning 'possessing the substance or quality of the noun'.

root		stem	
dag	mountain	*daglıg*	mountainous
xar	snow	*xarlıg*	snowy
šıl	string	*šıldıg*	having string
šıdam	endurance	*šıdamdıg*	durable
yaš	wood	*yaštıg*	woody

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2. The suffix *-kı/gı,*

The suffix *-kı/gı,* is used to derive adjective from nouns from which it has come to mean 'the substance or quality of the noun'.

root		stem	
kıš	winter	*kıškı*	of winter
žas	spring	*žaskı*	of spring
dün	night	*düngü*	nights
daŋ	dawn	*daŋgı*	of dawn
bögün	today	*bögüngü*	today's

3. The suffix *-sak/sek,*

The suffix *-sak/sek,* is used to derive adjectives from nouns with the meaning 'the same substance or quality of the noun'.

root		stem	
oyun	game	*oyunsak*	playful
aŋ	game	*aŋsak*	hunt-loving
arakı	alcoholic drink	*arakısak*	alcoholic
at	horse	*atsak*	horse-loving
boo	gun	*boosak*	gun-loving

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4. The suffix *-ık/ik,*

The suffix *-ık/ik* is used to derive adjectives from verbs which have the meaning 'the result of action'.

root		stem	
arı-	lose flesh	*arık*	thin
bus-	break	*buzuk*	broken
aksa-	limp	*aksak*	lame
aš-	open	*ašık*	clean, open

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CHAPTER 5

Verb Morphology

This chapter describes the verb and the construction of verbal expressions, aspects of inflectional verb morphology and derivational verb morphology. The verb inflectional suffixes include categories of voice, tense, aspect, mood, person and number. The derivational suffixes include morphemes, which derive new verbs from nominals as well as other verbs.

5.2 Inflectional Verb Morphology

The verb is a morphological complex comprising productive markers of actants, voice, negation, aspect, mood, tense, person, and number. Only verbs can function as the head of a VP; other classes require derivational suffixes in order to function as verbs. The suffixation of a verb is normally in the following order.

verb stem ± voice ± negation ± aspect ± mood ± tense ± person ± number

5.1.1 Personal markers

The suffixal string of a verb form normally consists of a verbal stem, a thematic suffix and a personal marker. There are two sets of verb personal markers that are used as verb inflectional markers. They are of possessive and pronominal origin. The first is a

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possessive type, which is expressed by suffixation of personal possessive endings, fusing person and number markers. The second is a pronominal type, which is expressed by adding personal pronoun enclitics.

Table 26: Inflection of personal markers

Person	First Type	Second Type
1 sg.	-m -ım -im -um -üm	men
2 sg.	-ŋ -ıŋ -iŋ -uŋ -üŋ	sen
3sg.	zero or -ı -i -u -ü	zero
1pl.	-bıs -bis -ıbıs -ibis -ubus -übüs	bis
2pl.	-ŋgar -ŋger -ıŋar -iŋer	senner/siler
3pl.	-lar -ler	-lar -ler -nar -ner

The possessive type is used in the simple past and the conditional. The past tense personal markers of verbs are illustrated with the paradigms of the verbs žit- 'lose' and ula- 'connect'. (See Table 27)

Some examples are:

soŋında bir ay-nıŋ iš-i-nde sook bagay bo-(ı)-gan,

at the end one month-Gen. inside-Poss.-Loc. cold bad be-PPart.

The cold was severe for a month at the end (of this relocation),

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bičii aldan ool öl-di.

small sixty child die-Pst.

and sixty small children died.

ŋga äkel-gen soŋŋda bičii eki bol-dı.

there bring-PPart. after little better be-Pst.

After they brought them there, it was a little better.

Table 27: Personal endings with simple past tense

Person	žit- 'lose'	ula- 'connect'
1 sg.	žitim	uladim
2 sg.	žitiŋ	uladıŋ
3sg.	ıžiti	uladı
1pl.	žitibis	uladıbıs
2pl.	žitiŋger	uladıŋar
3pl.	žitiler	uladılar

The personal markers of verbs are illustrated with the paradigms of the verbs žit- 'lose' and ula- 'connect' for the present tense the conditional.

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Table 28: Personal endings with conditional

Person	žit- 'lose'	ula- 'connect'
1 sg.	žitsem	ulasam
2 sg.	žitseŋ	ulasaŋ
3sg.	žitse	ulasa
1pl.	žitsebis	ulasabıs
2pl.	žitseŋger	ulasaŋar
3pl.	žitse	ulasa

Some example are:

oygurša domakdan-saŋ eki gör-ör.

Uygur speak-2nd.Cond. good consider-Pr.Indef.

They will like you if you speak Uygur.

šaa-m bol-sa gee-p dur-ur men.

time-Poss. be-3nd.Cond. stand-Pr.Indef. I

I will come if (whenever) I have time.

bis gel-be-sebis kumda-ma.

we come-Neg.- 1Pl.Cond. angry-Neg.Imp.

Don't be angry if we don't come.

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The pronominal type is used in all other main clauses. The imperative lacks a common thematic suffix and has its own set of personal markers. The present-future tense personal markers of verbs are illustrated with the paradigms of the verbs žit- 'lose' and ula- 'connect'.

Table 29: Personal endings with present-future tense

Person	žit- 'lose'	ula- 'connect'
1 sg.	žitser men	ulaarmem
2 sg.	žiter sen	ulaarsen
3sg.	žiter	ulaar
1pl.	žiterbis	ulaar bıs
2pl.	žitersiler	ulaar siler
3pl.	žiter	ulaar

Some examples of different clauses are:

egiči-m tozančı žıl gel-gen. bodum tozan üšünči žıl gel-gen-men.

elder sister-Poss. ninetieth year come-PPart. myself ninety third year come-PPart.-I

My elder sister came here in 1990. I, myself came here in 1993.

käzir men bodum mıysalı, monchak dıl bil-er-men.

now I myself example Monchak language know-Pr.Indef.-I

Now, taking my own example, I know Monchak.

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5.1.2 Tenses:

Tuva has developed a rather complicated system of tense marking, mostly using compounding rather than simple suffixation. Most tense markers in Jungar Tuva also have aspectual functions. Some also function as mood markers. These dual or triple functions will be noted when individual tense markers are discussed. Jungar Tuva distinguishes between two tenses: past and present-future.

5.1.2.1 Past

Jungar Tuva has three simple past tenses. They are the definite past, the indefinite past and the narrative past. All these tenses are expressed by suffixation.

Definite Past Tense:

The simple past tense is formed by attaching the suffix -d to the verb stem and followed by the respective personal possessive marker. The definite past tense paradigms are illustrated by the forms the verbs bil- 'know', gel-'come', sokta-'beat', and ayt- 'come' in the following table 30.

The past tense in Jungar Tuva refers to an action which took place before the moment of speaking or started in the past and was completed before the moment of speaking. It carries a more assertive connotation and may be also refer to a definite or relatively

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recent time in the past. It also denotes an action which took place often or habitually in the past.

soŋında bir ay-nıŋ iš-i-nde sook bagay bo-(l)-gan,

at the end one month-Gen. inside-Poss.-Loc. cold bad be-PPart.

The cold was severe for a month at the end (of this relocation),

bičii aldan ool öl-di.

small sixty child die-Pst.

and sixty small children died.

ınga äkel-gen soŋında bičii eki bol-dı.

there bring-PPart. after little better be-Pst.

After they brought them there, it was a little better.

käzir barı üš žüs tozan tın kal-dı. ebeešed-di.

now altogether three hundred ninety life remain-Pst. decline-Pst.

Now 390 people remained altogether. It's declined.

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Table 30: Definite past tense

	bil-'know'	gel-'come'	sokta-'beat'	ayt-'tell'
1p.sg.	bildim	geldim	soktadım	aytdım
2p.sg.	bildiŋ	geldiŋ	soktadıŋ	aytdıŋ
3p.sg.	bildi	geldi	soktadı	aytdı
1p.pl.	bildibis	geldibis	soktadıbıs	aytdıbıs
2p.pl.	bildiŋer	geldiŋer	soktadıŋer	aytdıŋer
3p.pl.	bildi(ler)	geldi(ler)	soktadi(ler)	aytdı(ler)

Indefiinite Past Tense:

The indefinite past tense is expressed by means of the participial suffix -gan. Personal marking may be optionally accomplished by means of a pronominal enclitic, in the case of the third person by means of the enclitic -dur. The indefinite past tense paradigms are illustrated by the forms the verbs bil- 'know', gel-'come', sokta-'beat', and ayt- 'come' in the following table 31.

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Table 31: Indefinite past tense

	bil-'know'	gel-'come'	sokta-'beat'	ayt-'tell'
1p.sg.	bilgen men	gelgen men	soktagan men	aytkan men
2p.sg.	bilgen sen	gelgen sen	soktagan sen	aytkan sen
3p.sg.	bilgen	gelgen	soktagan	aytkan
1p.pl.	bilgen bis	gelgen bis	soktagan bıs	aytkan bıs
2p.pl.	bilgen siler	gelgen siler	soktagan siler	aytkan siler
3p.pl.	bilgen (ler)	gelgen (ler)	soktagan(lar)	aytkan (lar)

Generally, the indefinite past refers to a point in the past that is indefinite, unspecified, or more distant from the speech event.

Some of examples are:

iyinči aga-m sezenči žıl ge-ep bütür-gen.

second elder brother-Poss. eightieth year come-Ger. finish-PPart.

My second brother came here in 1980 and graduated.

teginde biz-di bašgar-ıp dur-gan bey-ebiz ol gökdogay-da dur-gan.

formerly we-Acc. govern-Ger. stay-PPart. Bey-1pl.Poss. that Köktogay-Loc. stay-PPart.

In the past, our governing Bey lived in that Köktogay (county).

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bortta gel-gen-men mɪŋ tos žüs dörtön sesinči žıl gel-gen-men bo.

here come-PPart.-1st. thousand nine hundred forty eighth year come-PPart.-1st. this.

I came here, I came here in 1948, it was.

ard-ɪ-nın dıba ulut-u göž-üp akkaba-ga gel-gen.

stay-PPart. back-Poss.-Abl. Tuva nation-Poss. move-Ger. Akkaba-Dat. come-PPart.

After that, the Tuva nation migrated and came back to Akkaba.

žasdı mool-dan gel-gen tört taŋma bol-gan.

nickel silver Mongol-Alb. Come-PPart. four seal be-PPart.

There were four seals which came from the Mongols.

ınga äkel-gen soŋında bičii eki bol-dı.

there bring-PPart. after little better be-Pst.

After they brought them there, it was a little better.

Narrative Past Tense:

The narrative past tense is formed with gerund -p plus personal markers. When the speaker does not know whether the statement is true or not and s/he makes this clear by using the narrative past. The implication is that the action or event depicted by such a statement has been reported to the speaker.

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dıba-lar-nı tözün gožuun-ga üle-p-dir.

Tuva-Pl.-Acc. all banner-Dat. divide-PNarr.

They divided all the Tuvas into banners.

aba-m burun bis bičii tur-ar-da žok bo-p kal-ıp-dur.

father-Poss. early we small stay-Pr.Indef.-Loc. Neg.exist be-Ger. stay-Ger. Pr.Indef.

My father passed away when we were very small.

erte burun šaa-da bir kara xalžan attı dege xalžan attı dektene

early before time-Loc. one black blaze with horse goat blaze with horse Dektene

A long time ago, there is an old lady named Old Lady Dektene who has a horse with a

xoočın de-p bir xoočın bol-up-tur.

old lady say-Ger.one old lady be-Ger-Be.

black blaze.

5.1.2.2 Present

Present-future tense:

The present-future tense is formed with the present-future suffix -ar/-er/-ir and a pronominal marker. The present-future is the general present tense and expresses habitual actions and general events. The present tense can be expressed in all three Jungar Tuva moods, the indicative, the conditional, and the imperative. The present tense personal

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suffixes of verbs are illustrated with the paradigms of the verbs bil- 'know', gel-'come', sokta-'beat', and ayt- 'come'.

Table 32: Present-future tense

	bil-'know'	gel-'come'	sokta-'beat'	ayt-'tell'
1p.sg.	biler men	geler men	soktaar men	aytar men
2p.sg.	biler sen	geler sen	soktaar sen	aytar sen
3p.sg.	biler	geler	soktaar	aytar
1p.pl.	bilerbis	geler bis	soktaar bıs	aytar bıs
2p.pl.	biler siler	geler siler	soktaar siler	aytar siler
3p.pl.	biler(ler)	geler (ler)	soktaar (ler)	aytar (lar)

The present-future form has both present and future meanings, depending on context.

al bis bo akkaba-da-gı olur-gan dıba žurt-ı-n mončak da

well we this Akkaba-Loc.-Rel.Cl. live-PPart. Tuva people-Poss.-Acc. Monchak also

Well, we also call the Tuva people who live in this Akkaba Monchak.

de-er bis.

say-Pr.Indef. 1pl.

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baza goŋgutu irgit de-p ayt-ır.

also Gonggutu Irgit say-Ger. say-Pr.Indef.

They also say Gonggutu is Irgit.

akkaba bis-diŋ kaba awdan-ga karatdın-ır.

Akkaba we-Gen. Kaba county-Dat. belong-Pr.Indef.

Akkaba belongs to our Kaba county.

bis-diŋ bo dıba dıl tek akkaba-nıŋ iš-i-nde öw-niŋ

we-Gen. this Tuva language only Akkaba-Gen. inside-Poss.-Loc. house-Gen.

We speak this Tuva language of ours only in Akkaba

iš-i-ŋge gene domakdan-ar-bız.

inside-Poss.-Dat. only speak-Pr.Indef.-2.pl.

and in the home.

bis-diŋ bo akkaba-da žurt-tu dıba de-er.

we-Gen. this Akkaba-Loc. people-Acc. Tuva say-Pr.Indef.

They call the people in this Akkaba of ours Tuva.

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ol tözü žeerbe altı sumun bol-ur.

it all twenty six sumun be-Pr.Indef.

Altogether, there are twenty-six districts.

bo alday-nıŋ žedi gošuun dıba-zı de-p sana-l-ar.

this Altay-Gen. seven banner Tuva-Poss. say-Ger. consider-Pass.-Pr.Indef.

They are considered to be the seven-banner Tuvas of the Altay.

bo žoŋgo-ga dur-gan dıba-lar alday aymak-ı-nda dur-ar.

this China-Dat. stay-PPart. Tuva-Pl. Altay district-Poss.-Loc. stay-Pr.Indef.

These Tuvas who live in China live in the Altay district.

key birei malčı-nın žan ba-ar.

certain some herdsman-Abl. life care for-Pre.Indef.

Certain ones get through life as herders.

Present progressive

The present progressive is marked by gerund -p, and the auxiliary verbs dur- 'stand', žıd- 'lie', olur- 'sit', and žor- 'walk' and -plus personal markers,

Present progressive tense denotes a present action, which is in progress.

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ınžalsa dıbaša domaktan-ıp dur. olar dıba.

but Tuva speak-Ger. stand. they Tuva

Instead, they are speaking Tuva. They are Tuvas.

mäselen o-ŋ dıba bol-ı-nı dıl-ga negizdel-ip ayt-ıp dur-mın.

example it-Gen. Tuva be-Inf.-Acc. language-Dat. be based-Ger. say-Ger. stay-1sg.Cop.

For example, I am saying that their being Tuvas is based on language.

al am bis moolša nomšu-p dur-bız.

well now we Mongolian read-Ger. stay-1.pl.

Well, now we study Mongolian.

5.1.3 Aspect

Aspect is expressed primarily through the use and syntactic positioning of the suffixes in Jungar Tuva. The main markers of aspect in Jungar Tuva are suffixation and their syntactic positions in the sentence.

Perfective aspect:

The perfect aspect is expressed for the present, past, and future tenses. However, there is no form that distinctly and exclusively expresses the present perfect; this function is usually expressed by the (definite) past morpheme:

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käzir barı üš žüs tozan tın kal-dı. ebeešed-di.

now altogether three hundred ninety life remain-Pst. decline-Pst.

Now 390 people remained altogether. It has declined.

Habitual aspect:

Habitual aspect indicates a situation which is characteristic of a considerable stretch of time. The typical expression of this aspect in Jungar Tuva is the present-future suffix -ar/-er/-ir and a pronominal marker, expressing present habitual actions:

giši-ler daŋnıŋ gidis öw-ge olur-ur.

people-Pl. always felt house-Dat. live-Pr.Indef.

People always live in felt houses (when they herd).

bis-diŋ akkaba-nıŋ öw-lör-i-niŋ güp-ü daŋnıŋ žayın

we-Gen. Akkaba-Gen. house-Pl.-Poss.-Gen. many-Poss. always summer

Always when it is summer, most of our households in Akkaba

bol-ır-da gidis öw-ge olur-ur.

Be-Pr.Part.-Loc. felt house-Dat. live-Pr.Indef.

live in felt homes.

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on-ı kündölö ži-p žor-ur.

it-Acc. everyday eat-Ger. walk-Pr.Indef.

She eats this everyday.

Progressive aspect:

The progressive aspect is expressed by the present progressive tense which is marked by gerund -p, and the auxiliary verbs dur- 'stand', žıd- 'lie', olur- 'sit', and žor- 'walk' and - plus personal markers,

al am bis moolša nomšu-p dur-bız.

well now we Mongolian read-Ger. stay-1.pl.

Well, now we study Mongolian.

5.1.4 Mood:

There are three moods in Jungar Tuva: the indicative, the conditional, and the optative-imperative.

Indicative:

The indicative is not marked overtly in finite verbs, rather, it is inferred from the absence of mood markers. The indicative mood is expressed by zero marking on the verb. The indicative occurs in all tenses.

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giši-ler daŋnıŋ gidis öw-ge olur-ur.

people-Pl. always felt house-Dat. live-Pr.Indef.

People always live in felt houses (when they herd).

men-iŋ at-ım torgun. bo žıl on žedi žaštıg-men.

I-Gen. name-Poss. Torgun. this year seventeen year-I

My name is Turgun. I am seventeen years old this year.

Condition:

The conditional mood occurs in the present tense and the past tense in Jungar Tuva. In the present tense the conditional is marked by the -sa suffix, which is attached to the verb stem before the suffix expressing person and number. The personal markers of verbs are illustrated with the paradigms of the verbs žit- 'lose' and ula- 'connect' for the present tense of the conditional in the table 33.

Examples for simple combinations involving conditional forms follow:

käzir bo žurt burungu-zı-nan ebeeše-en bol-ba-sa göböy-gön

now this peole before-Poss.-Abl. decline-PPart. be-Neg.-if increase-PPart.

Now, this hometown has gone from what it was, or anyway there's no way

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žer-i žok. dörtön tosınčı žıl-gı dört žüs sesen tın-nın

place-Poss. Neg. exist forty ninth year-Rel. four hundred eighty life-Abl.

it went up, no way. Of 480 people of 1949,

al ürümži-ge bar-sa, oygur dıl-ı-n bil-be-se de

well Urumchi-Dat. go-Cond. Uygur language-Poss.-Acc. know-Neg.-Cond. also

Well, if someone goes to Urumchi, it won't do if s/he doesn't know the Uygur language.

bol-bas. ınžangaš käzir men bodum mıysalı, monČak dıl bil-er-meen,

be-Neg. therefore now I myself example Monchak language know-Pr.Indef.-I

Therefore, now, taking my own example, I know Monchak,

am uluu giši bol-sa žagarı-nan bir materiyal xužat gel-se,

now big people be-Cond. above-Abl. one material document come-Cond.

Now, as for the adults, if an official document comes from above (the government),

ol kazakša. o-oŋ bilen bis-der kazı-p bil-e sal-ı-bız ödö aar.

it Kazak. it-Gen. with we-Pl. read-Ger. know put-Inf.-1.pl. very difficult

it is in Kazak. Therefore, it is very difficult for us to read and understand it.

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žügö de-seŋ, ürümži-ge bar-gan-da oygurša domaktan-ba-saŋ,

why say-2nd.Cond. Urumchi-Dat. go-Ger.-Loc. Uygur speak-Neg.-2nd.Cond.

If you ask why, (it is because) if you do not speak Uygur when you go to Urumchi,

kazak dıl domaktan-saŋ olar baza taar-ıp, žaktır-bas žagday bar.

Kazak language speak-2nd.Cond. they also rebuke-Ger. like-Neg. circumstance exist

[and]if you speak Kazak, there will be a situation where they rebuke and do not like you.

Table 33: Personal endings with conditional

Person	žit- 'lose'	ula- 'connect'
1 sg.	žitsem	ulasam
2 sg.	žitseŋ	ulasaŋ
3sg.	žitse	ulasa
1pl.	žitsebis	ulasabıs
2pl.	žitseŋger	ulasaŋar
3pl.	žitse	ulasa

Optative-Imperative:

The imperative has no tense marking in Jungar Tuva. The second person singular has no special suffix, it only consists of the bare stem, e.g. Gut 'Pour!' nomšu 'Read!' kiyin 'Get

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dressed!' Optative-imperative markers may be followed by suffixes expressing voice or negation, but without tense/aspect and mood markers or agreement markers.

The Optative-imperative personal suffixes of verbs are illustrated with the paradigms of the verbs bil- 'know', gel-'come', sokta-'beat', and ayt- 'come'.

Table 34: Optative-imperative

	bil-'know'	gel-'come'	sokta-'beat'	ayt-'tell'
1p.sg.	bileyin	geleyin	soktayın	aytayın
2p.sg.	bil	gel	sokta	ayt
3p.sg.	bilzin	gelzin	soktazın	aytsın
1p.pl.	biligey	geligey	soktagay	aytagay
2p.pl.	biliger	geliger	soktagar	aytagar
3p.pl.	bilzin(ner)	gelzin(ner)	soktazın(nar)	aytsın(nar)

Some examples are:

ool-dar öw-de mončakša domakdan-zınnar.

child-Pl. house-Loc. Monchak speak-3pl.Imp.

Let children speak Monchak at home.

siler gidis öw-ge olur-Ø.

you felt house-Dat. live-2pl.Imp.

You sit in the felt houses

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men bodum-nıŋ žurd-um-nıŋ žönünde-gi žer suw kandıg

I myself-Gen. hometown-Poss.-Gen. pertain to-Rel. land water how

Please let me tell you, according to what I know, about the general situation of

ıyaš daš-ı žönünde bodum-nıŋ bil-gen-im-še siler-ge ayt-ıp

tree stone-Poss. about myself-Poss. know-PPart.-Poss.-particle you-Dat. say-Ger.

the Tuva nation and the land and water, and what kind of trees and stones pertain to

ber-e-yin.

give-Pr.Part.-1sg.Imp.

my own hometown.

5.2 Derivational Verb Morphology

Derivational suffixes are divided into two distinguished classes: those which attach to a verb stem and derive a new verb stem (deverbal verb derivation), and those which derive verbs from nominals. The first class includes the voice derivational suffixes and other deverbal derivational suffixes. The second class includes all the other denominal derivational suffixes.Those derivational suffixes which are most productive are described below.

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5.2.1 Deverbal verb derivation

5.2.2.1 Voices:

Voice suffixes constitute an important aspect of Jungar Tuva verb derivation. The voices are cooperative-reciprocal, causative, reflexive and passive.

The term 'voice' has been used to cover functions of the verb that change or strongly mark its transitivity or intransitivity. The transitivity of Jungar Tuva verbs is determined by their semantic nature. There are however a number stem-forming suffixes that affect the semantic content and the transitivity of verb; these are the set of intercombinable voice suffixes such as causative, passive, reflexive, cooperative-reciprocal, and compound voice suffixes which modify the meaning of the preceding verbal stem and affect the subject performance of the action of sentence.

Causative voice

The causative verbs are marked by adding the suffix *-dɪr/-dur,-dir/-dür* to verb stems ending in a vowel and a voiced consonant, or adding the suffix *-tɪr/-tur,-tir/-tür* to verb stems ending in a voiceless consonant. e.g. *aldir-* 'make somebody take' < *al-* 'take', *žuwdur-* 'make somebody wash' < *žuw-* 'wash'.

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Passive voice

The passive verbs are marked by adding the suffix *-ıl/-ul,-il/-ül* to verb stems ending in any consonant except *-l*, or adding the suffix *-l* to verb stems ending in vowels. e.g. *dıbıl-* 'be found' < *dıb-* 'take', *žazal-* 'to be made' < *žaza-* 'make'.

Reflexive voice

Reflexive verbs are marked by adding the suffix *-ın/-un,-in/-ün* to verb stems ending in any consonant except -l, adding the suffix -n to verb stems ending in a vowels and the suffix -n to verb stems ending in -n. e.g. *šattan-* 'take pleasure in' < *šat-* 'happy', *žuwin-* 'wash oneself' < *žuw-* 'wash'

Cooperative-reciprocal voice

The cooperative-reciprocal verbs are marked by adding the suffix *-ıš/-uš,-iš/-üš* to verb stems ending in a consonant, adding the suffix -š to verb stems ending in a vowel. e.g. *göruš-* 'see each other, meet' < *gör-* 'see'.

5.2.2 Denomenial verb derivation

Verbs from Nouns

1. The suffix *-la/le, -da/de, -na/ne, -ta /te*

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The suffix *-la/le, -da/de, -na/ne, -ta/te* is the most productive suffix which is added to a noun root to produce a verb stem meaning 'an action connected to the primary meaning of the noun '; for example:

root		stem	
ır	song	*ırla-*	sing
aŋ	game	*aŋna-*	hunt
baš	head	*bašla-*	start
ügüt	propaganda	*ügütte-*	propagandize
uya	nest	*uyala-*	make a nest
töl	newborn animal	*tölde-*	give birth to a *toel*
šoožı	lock	*šoožila-*	lock up

2. The suffix *-sıra/sire, -zıra/zire,*

The suffix *-sıra/sire, -zıra/zire* is added to a noun or adjective root to produce a verb stem meaning 'a desire or feeling or tendency connected to the primary meaning of the noun ', for example:

root		stem	
mün	soup	*münsire-*	want to drink soup
et	meat	*etsire-*	want to eat meat
uykı	sleep	*uykısıra-*	want to sleep
äl	force	*älsire-*	become weaker

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kan	blood	*kansera-*	ooze

3. The suffix *-kar/ker, -gar/ger,*

The suffix *-kar/ger* is added to a noun or adjective root producing a verb stem meaning 'an action connected to the primary meaning of the noun ', for example:

root		stem	
baš	head	*baškar-*	manage, lead
suw	water	*suwgar-*	water
žm	food	*žemger-*	feed
gut	luck	*gutgar-*	save, rescue
žem	food	*žemger-*	feed

4. The suffix *-ar/er,*

The suffix *-ar/er* is added to a noun or adjective root to produce a verb stem meaning 'an adoption of the quality of connected adjective or noun ', for example:

root		stem	
ak	white	*akar-*	whiten
žaš	young	*žašar-*	become younger
gök	blue	*göger-*	become blue

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5. The suffix *-sa/se, za/ze,*

The suffix *-sa/se* is added to a noun root to produce a verb stem meaning 'to desire or to experience something associated with the noun', for example:

root		stem	
ɣyar	shame	*ɣyatsa-*	feel shame
suw	water	*suwsa-*	be thirsty

6. The suffix *-a/e/ɤ/i /ɯ/ü /*

The suffix *-a/e/ɤ/i /ɯ/ü* is added to a noun root to produce a verb stem meaning 'an action connected to the meaning of the nouns ', for example:

root		stem	
bay	rich	*bayɾ-*	become rich
dus	salt	*duza-*	salt
san	number	*sana-*	count
dün	night	*düne-*	stay over night
oyɯn	game	*oyna-*	play
žaš	young	*žaža-*	live

7. The suffix *-šɤ/ši, žɤ/ži*

The suffix is added to a noun root to produce a verb stem meaning 'an action connected to the meaning of the nouns ', for example:

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root		stem	
širik	sod, turf	*širikši-*	become sod
kılaŋ	flat	*kılaŋžı-*	become flat
elbek	rich	*elbekši-*	become rich
erge	old	*ergeži-*	grow old

8. The suffix *-ra/re*

The suffix is added to an onomatopoeic noun root to produce a verb stem meaning 'an action connected to the meaning of the nouns ', for example:

root		stem	
möö	moo of cow	*mööre-*	to moo
mee	bleat	*meere-*	to bleat
kıškı	shout	*kıškır-*	shout
šülü	melting snow	*šülüre-*	melt

9. The suffix *-ıksa/ikse*

The suffix *-ıksa/ikse* is added to a verb root to produce a verb stem meaning 'indicate a desire to carry out the action expressed by the primary verbs ', for example:

root		stem	
ber-	give	*berikse-*	want to give
al- bleat	take	*allksa-*	want to take

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ayt-	say	*aytıksa-*	want say
žan-	return	*žanıksa-*	want to return

5.2.2.2 Negation

Verb stems are marked by adding the suffix negation marker -ma/me.

men de bil-bes-ben.

I also know-Neg.-1sg. Cop.

I don't know either.

bis-diŋ nak bo dıba-nıŋ bod-ı alday-ga dur-gan dıba, alday-ga

we-Gen. exact this Tuva-Gen. self-Poss. Altay-Dat. stand-PPart. Tuva. Altay-Dat.

We ourselves, I mean these Tuva, are Tuva who had lived in the Altay. We did not come

dile-p bol-ap gel-be-en.

seek-Ger. be-Ger. come-Neg.-Ppart.

seeking (= migrating to) the Altay.[i.e. we are original inhabitants.]

šuŋgur söök böl-bös.

Shungur clan divide-Neg.

They do not divide the Shungur clan.

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bodu-nuŋ dıl-ı dıba dıl, bırak dıba dıl-dıŋ bodu iš-ge

self-Gen. language-Poss. Tuva language, but Tuva language-Gen. itself work-Dat.

Their own language is Tuva, but Tuva by itself will not work.

as-bas.

pass-Neg.

5.2.2.3 Actional modifications

One of the most significant features of Jungar Tuva is that the verb suffixes expressing aspectual and modal values commonly derive from full lexical verbs. A number of lexical verbs in the Jungar Tuva act as auxiliaries, and all follow the main verb marked by the gerund in -(I)p or - A/y express the actional modifications. The auxiliaries carry the tense, negation, person and number markers.

al- 'take', when used as an auxiliary, it expresses own benefit, e.g.

oruk-nu solunggu-nan sura-p al-d-ım.

direction-Acc. *Solungu*-Abl. ask-Ger. take-Pst.-1sg.

'I asked Solungu for direction.'

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nom-nu zad-ıp al-d-ım.

book-Acc. buy-Ger. take-Pst.1sg.

'I bought the book (for my benefit).'

zasık žurt-tıŋ bütgön maĺ-nar-ın gidis öw-i bilen

government people all livestock-Pl.-Acc. felt house-Poss. with

The government confiscated all the livestock and felt homes of the people

tart-ıp al-ıp, zorla-p kızıl üyök-ge göšür-di.

drag-Ger. take-Ger. force-Ger. Kızıl Uyök-Dat. relocate-Pst.

and forced them to relocate to Kızıl Uyök.

žiber- 'send, let go', when used as an auxiliary, it expresses intensive, sudden action, e.g.

urug aba-zı-n gör-üp ıgla-p žiber-d-i.

girl mother-Poss.-Acc. see-Ger. cry-Ger. send-Pst.-3sg.

"The girl burst out when she saw her mother"

kör- 'see, watch' when used as an auxiliary, it expresses tentative action or denotes a polite request, e.g.

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dıbaša ırla-p gör-be-gen men.

Tuva sing-Ger. see-Neg.-PPart. I

'I never tried to sing in Tuva.'

gezet-ter-ni nomšu-p gör.

newspaper-Pl.-Acc. read-Ger. see

'Please try to read the news paper.'

alma-nı ži-p gör-d-im.

apple-Acc. eat-Ger. see-Pst.-1sg.

'I tried the apple'

bar- 'go and arrive' when used as an auxiliary, it expresses progress, e.g.

ool tez ös-ip ba-ar.

child fast grow-Ger. go-Pr.Indef.

'The child is growing fast.'

kel- 'come, arrive' when used as an auxiliary, it expresses progress or simultaneous action, e.g.

šuurkan gattı šuurda-p ke-er.

wind hard blow-Ger. come-Pr.Indef.

'The wind becomes stronger.'

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ber- 'give' when used as an auxiliary, it expresses benefit to others or action without restraint or continuation of action.

ol bister-ge moolša ırla-p ber-d-i.

he we-Dat. Mongolian sing-Ger. give-Pst.-3sg.

'He sang for us in Mongolian.'

žaaškın ža-a ber-d-i.

precipitation fall-Ger. give-Pst.-3sg.

'It continued raining.'

bol- 'become, be' when used as an auxiliary, it expresses completion, e.g.

men šay iš-ip bol-d-um.

I tea drink-Ger. be-Pst.-1sg.

'I finished drinking tea.'

šık- 'emerge, go out' when used as an auxiliary, it expresses thoroughness or to finish doing, e.g.

surukšı-lar nom-nı nomšu-p šık-d-ı.

student-Pl. book-Acc. read-Ger. go out-Pst.-3pl.

'The students read the book carefully from beginning to end'

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otur- 'sit, settle' when used as an auxiliary, it expresses continuing or frequent action, e.g.

biz moolša nomšu-p otur bız.

we Mongolian study-Ger. sit- we

'We are studying Mongolian.'

kal- 'remain', when used as an auxiliary, it expresses finite state, e.g.

zadık erte šıpıl-ıp kal-d-ı.

store early close-Ger. remain-Pst.3sg.

'The store (suddenly) closed early.'

tur- 'stand', when used as an auxiliary, it expresses brief or repetitive action, e.g.

siler bižii dur-up dur-kar.

you a little stand-Ger. stand-2pl.Imp.

'Please for a moment.'

men on-ı bodan-ıp dur-men.

I it-Acc. think-Ger. stand-I

'I am thinking about that.'

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ol daŋ bilen geep dur-ur.

he morning with come-Ger. stand-Pr.Indef.

'He comes every morning.'

žat- 'lie down' when used as an auxiliary, it expresses progression, regular action, e.g.

ol men-ge bižik biži-p žad-ır.

S/he I-Dat. letter write-Ger. lie-Pr.Indef.

'S/he is writing a letter for me.'

žor- 'proceed', when used as an auxiliary, it expresses continuous or regular action,

sen künde žüme ažılda-p žor-sen.

you everyday what do-Ger. lie-you

'What are you doing everyday?'

5.3 Verbals

5.3.1 Infinitive

The general present tense is formed with the suffix -ar/er

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bo xom bile xanas-da-gı dur-gan dıba-lar, bis dıba emes-biz

this Kom with Kanas-Loc.-Rel. stay-PPart. Tuva-Pl. we Tuva Neg.Cop.-1pl.

The Tuvas who live in these Kom and Kanas (villages), when they say they are

de-er-i mege ol.

say-Inf.-Poss. false 3rd.Col.

not Tuvas, they are wrong.

žäne ol dıl-dı öröd-ür kerek.

and that language-Acc. teach-Inf. necessary

We also have to teach that language.

onson, kogam-ga ülös-üp žor-or ušun söszok

also society-Dat. follow-Ger. walk-Inf. for definitely

Also, it would seem that we definitely have to know Kazak in order to follow

kazakša bil-ir kerek irgin.

kazak know -Inf. need particle

along into society. (also said sarcastically)

dıbaša nom nomšuurnı ege gøribis.

"We like read Tuva books."

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5.3.2 Participles

Participles are adjectival forms of verbs, are marked by adding the suffix -kan/-ken,-gan/-gen e.g. oturgan '(who is) sitting <- otur- 'sit, live,' žegen '(who is) eating' <- že- 'eat'. Participles refer to entities participating in actions, and can be used as attributes or without a head.

Some of the examples are:

bis-diŋ nak bo dıba-nıŋ bod-ı alday-ga dur-gan dıba, alday-ga

we-Gen. exact this Tuva-Gen. self-Poss. Altay-Dat. stand-PPart. Tuva. Altay-Dat.

We ourselves, I mean these Tuva, are Tuva who had lived in the Altay. We did not come

mında dört sumun de-en žurt bar.

here four district say-PPart. People exist

Here there are people who are called the Four Districts.

žasdı mool-dan gel-gen tört taŋma bol-gan.

nickel silver Mongol-Alb. Come-PPart. four seal be-PPart.

issued (the seals). There were four seals which came from the Mongols.

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bis-diŋ moolša nomšu-un ool-ubuz tek mektep-tiŋ iš-i-ŋge gene

we-Gen. Mongol study-Ger. child-2.pl.Poss. only school-Gen. inside-Poss.-Dat. only

Our kids who study Mongolian only speak it at school. We only teach the kids by

domakdan-ır. ol ool-dar-ga awdar-ıp gene nomšud-ur-bız.

speak-Pr.Indef. that child-Pl.-Dat. translate-Ger. only teach-Pr.Part.-2ndPl.

Translating (from Mongolian into Tuva).

5.3.3 Gerunds

Gerunds are adverbial forms of verbs, is marked by adding the suffixes -(ı)p, -a/-y or -gaš. Gerunds are adverbial forms of the verb signaling various semantic relations to the content of the superordinate clause.

Some of the examples are:

art-ı-nın mool-diŋ išd-i-ŋge žor-ıy žor-ıy eki

back-Poss.-Abl. Mongol-Gen. inside-Poss.-Dat. walk-Ger. walk-Ger. good

Later, being among the Mongols again and again, I was able to speak

domaktan-ır bol-du-m.

speak-Pr.Indef. be-Pst.-1.pl.

good Mongolian.

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art-ɨ-nɪn bir iyi üš ay-nɪn soŋgar öörön-e bar-dɨ-k.

after-Poss.-Abl. one two three month after learn-Ger. go-Pst-1st.Pl.

Later, after one, two, three months we began to learn.

mäselen o-ŋ dɪba bol-ɨ-nɪ dɪl-ga negizdel-ip ayt-ɪp dur-mɪn.

example it-Gen. Tuva be-Inf.-Acc. language-Dat. be based-Ger. say-Ger. stay-1sg.Cop.

For example, I am saying that their being Tuvas is based on language.

ol xom-ga öŋgä tügöl moolča domaktanba-y dɪbaša domaktan-ɪp odɪr.

that Kom-Dat. friend? all mongolian speak-Neg.-Ger. Tuva speak-Ger. sit-3rd.Col.

Our friends in Kom, all are speaking in Tuva, but not in Mongolian.

oygɪr dɪl-ɪ da bičɪ-bičɪ öörön-üp žoroor-meen.

Uygur language-Poss. also gradually learn-Ger. walk- Pr.Indef.-I

I have been learning a little bit of Uygur.

gidis-di xoy-nɪŋ dük-ü-n sawa-aš teresin-ge ka-ap bas-ar.

felt-Acc. sheep-Gen. wool-Poss.-Acc. strike-Ger. grass mat-Dat. put-Ger. make-Pr.Indef.

They make the felt by striking the sheep's wool and putting it on a grass mat.

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teresin-niŋ üsd-ü-ge ka-aš izig suw žaš-ıp bas-ar.

grass mat-Gen. surface-Poss.-Dat. put-Ger. hot water pour-Ger. press-Pr.Indef

After putting it on top of the grass mat, pour hot water on it and press it.

bir saat emeze iyi saat kireli dırt-gaš dedir. žuw-gaš kurga-t-ır.

one hour or two hour about pull-Ger. backward wash-Ger. dry-Caus.-Pr.Indef.

After pulling it back and forth for around one or two hours, they wash and dry it.

žuw-gaš kurga-t-ır.

backward wash-Ger. dry-Caus.-Pr.Indef.

they wash and dry it.

kur-u-ŋga oraa-p al-gaš xara xattı xaan-ga

sash-3sg.-Poss.-Dat. wrap-Ger. take-Ger. black with berry khan-Dat.

Having wrapped it up in his sash, he takes it and brings it to the Khan

apar-ıp be-er irgen.

take-Ger. give-Pr.Indef. participle

with a black berry.

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Appendix A

Texts

This chapter contains ten texts, including both narrative and procedural (folkloristic) texts by several informants, nine natives of the village of Akkaba and one native of the village Kanas. The collection of texts consists of the following kinds of narration:

1. The history of Altay Tuva.
2. The clans of Jungar Tuva.
3. The distribution of Jungar Tuva.
4. The population and forced migration of Jungar Tuva in Akkaba.
5. "My hometown Akkaba".
6. A personal history.
7. A personal history.
8. The language of Jungar Tuva.
9. The House Building in Akkaba.
10. A short folktale.

All the stories were told in Jungar Tuva in their entirety with a tape recorder running and the narrators did not give me a free translation into Kazak. Later Solungu and Turgun helped me with a free translation into Kazak of "The Altay Tuva" and the

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unit of text. In the English translation, I have tried to be more faithful to the Jungar Tuva text than one would normally be if one were simply translating the text into English. Division into lines is generally based on pauses, which tends to produce lines which consist of a single clause (although this is not the case for every line). The texts are punctuated with ',' representing pause and with '.' representing a pause which also appears to correspond to a semantic closure. In deciding where to place full stops I have been guided solely by my own intuition; Turkic mother-tongue speaker judgments have been used. The sentence divisions are reasonably accurate. Quotation marks are used for reported speech and direct quotations, where appropriate.

In a very few places, I was not quite satisfied with my original analysis, but did not have a better one to propose. Those places are appropriately marked and commented upon.

The abbreviations used in the texts are the same as those used in the grammar.

1. The Altay Tuva

Narrated by Temir of Kanas Village in September1995

alday-nıŋ žedi gožuun dıba-sı.

Altay-Gen. seven banner Tuva-Poss.

The Altay Tuva have seven banners.

žedi gožuun dıba-nıŋ biri-si bo taŋdı ooršak.

seven tribe Tuva-Gen. one-Poss. this Tangdi Orshak.

The Tangdi Orshak is one of Tuva's seven banners .

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ol aldı sumun. meyren gožuun üš sumun.

it six district. Meyren banner three district

It has six districts. The Meyren banner has three districts.

ak soyan iyi sumun. kara soyan iyi sumun. mončak dört sumun.

white Soyan two district. black Soyan two district. Monchak four sumun.

White Soyan has two districts. Black Soyan has two districts. Monchak has four districts.

sarın beš sumun. berese dört sumun .

Sarın five district. Berese four sumun.

Sarın has five districts. Berese has four districts.

ol tözü žeerbe altı sumun bol-ur.

it all twenty six sumun be-Pr.Indef.

All together, there are twenty-six districts.

žeerbe aldı sumun-nı erte-de burun čıŋgıs xaan-nan soŋgaar, on-ı dıba

twenty six sumun-Acc. early-Loc. before Chingis Khan-Abl. after it-Acc. Tuva

A long time before, after Chingis Khan, however, two Ambil, four Berese, one

de-p bırak iyi ambıl, dört berese, bir möyireŋ, bir tayžı žagır-ıp-dır

say-Ger. however two Ambil, four Berese one Möyireng, one Tayzhi rule-PNarr.

Möyireng, and one Tayzhi ruled the twenty six districts calling them Tuva.

erte-de čıŋgıs xaan-nan soŋgaar manžu čin xaan šaa-nda ınžaŋgaš

early-Loc. Chingis Khan-Abl. after Manchu Qing Khan time-Poss.-Loc. so

So, a long time ago, after Chingis Khan, during the time of Manchu Qing Khan,

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dıba-lar-nı tözün gožuun-ga üle-p-dir. ooson tözün dıba-lar-nı

Tuva-Pl.-Acc. all banner-Dat. divide-PNarr. after that all Tuva-Pl.-Acc.

They divided all the Tuvas into banners. After that, they also named all the

alday-nıŋ žedi gožuun dıba-zı de-p da ada-an.

Altay-Gen. seven banner Tuva-Poss. say-Ger. also name-PPart.

Tuvas the seven-banner Tuvas of the Altay.

altay dıba gošuun uraŋxa.

Altay Tuva banner Uriyangkhai

The Altay Tuva banners are the Uriyangkhai.

bo alday-nıŋ žedi gošuun dıba-zı de-p sana-l-ar.

this Altay-Gen. seven banner Tuva-Poss. say-Ger. consider-Pass.-Pr.Indef.

They are considered to be the seven-banner Tuvas of the Altay.

aldı sumun-nuŋ da belen-tügön-nüŋ de tözün dıba de-p ada-ar.

six sumun-Gen. also everything-Gen. also all Tuva say-Ger. name-Pr.Indef.

The six districts and everything else are called Tuva.

bis-diŋ nak bo dıba-nıŋ bod-ı alday-ga dur-gan dıba, alday-ga

we-Gen. exact this Tuva-Gen. self-Poss. Altay-Dat. stand-PPart. Tuva. Altay-Dat.

We ourselves, I mean these Tuva, are Tuva who had lived in the Altay. We did not come

dile-p bol-ap gel-be-en.

seek-Ger. be-Ger. come-Neg.-Ppart.

seeking (= migrating to) the Altay.[i.e. we are original inhabitants.]

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aldı sumun-nuŋ žedi gožuun dıba-sı bo alday-ga dur-gan dıba.

six district-Gen. seven banner Tuva-Poss. this Altay-Dat. stand-PPart. Tuva.

The seven banner Tuva of the six districts are the Tuvas who have lived in this Altay.

2. The Clans of Jungar Tuva

Narrated by Sendish Ergin-ool of Akkaba Village in August 1987.

bis-diŋ bo akkaba-da žurt-tu dıba de-er.

we-Gen. this Akkaba-Loc. people-Acc. Tuva say-Pr.Indef.

They call the people in this Akkaba of ours Tuva.

al bis bo akkaba-da-gı olur-gan dıba žurt-ı-n mončak da

well we this Akkaba-Loc.-Rel.Cl. live-PPart. Tuva people-Poss.-Acc. Monchak also

Well, we also call the Tuva people who live in this Akkaba Monchak.

de-er bis.

say-Pr.Indef. 1pl.

mında dört sumun de-en žurt bar.

here four district say-PPart. People exist

Here there are people who are called the Four Districts.

mončak iš-din dört-ge üle-n-er.

Monchak inside-Abl. four-Dat. divide-Pass.-Pr.Indef.

Monchak is divided into four.

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köyük, irgit, žag dıba, šuŋgur de-p dört-ge ül-en-er.

Koyuk, Irgit, Zhag Tuva, Shungur say-Ger. four-Dat. divide-Pass.-Pr.Indef.

They are divided into four (clans) called Koyuk, Irgit, Zhag Tuva, and Shungur.

ınžalgašdın on-ı dört sumun da de-er bo.

therefore it-Acc. four district also say-Pr.Indef. this

This is why they also call them (the Monchak) the Four Districts.

köyük-tiŋ iš-i-nde kara köyük, ak köyük, žanagaš köyük,

köyük-Gen. inside-Poss.-Loc. Kara köyük, Ak köyük, Zhanagash köyük

Within the Köyük, they divide them into the Kara Köyük, Ak Köyük,

goŋgutu küyük de-p üle-er.

Gonggutu Köyük say-Ger. divide-Pr.Indef.

Zhanagash Köyük and Gonggutu Köyük.

baza goŋgutu irgit de-p ayt-ır.

also Gonggutu Irgit say-Ger. say-Pr.Indef.

They also say Gonggutu is Irgit.

irgit-tiŋ iš-i-nde ak irgit, kara irgit, botbum, suk, möndügöy

Irgit-Gen. inside-Poss.-Loc. Ak Irgit Kara Irgit Botbum, Suk, Mondugoy

Within the Irgit, they divide (them) into the Ak Irgit, Kara Irgit, Botbum, Suk,

de-p üle-er.

say-Ger. divide-Pr.Indef.

and Mondugoy.

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žag dıba iš-ı-nde kara žag dıba, sarı žag dıba, xadar žag dıba

Jagda Diba inside-Poss.-Loc. Kara Jag Diba, Sari Jag Diba, Khadar Jag Diba

Within the Zhagda Tuva, they are divided into three (clans) called the Kara Zhag

de-p üš-ge üle-n-er. šuŋgur söök böl-bös.

say-Ger. three-Dat. divide-Pass.-PrIndef. Shungur clan divide-Neg.

Tuva, Sari Zhag Tuva, and Khadar Zhag Tuva. They do not divide the Shungur clan.

3. Distribution of Jungar Tuva

Narrated by Solungu of Akkaba Village in September1995

kazir bo dıba bis-diŋ žoŋgo-da men bil-er-de iyi mıŋ-ga žook.

now this Tuva we-Gen. China-Loc. I know-Pr.Part.-Loc. two thousand-Dat. near

As far as I know, there are about two thousand Tuvas in China.

bo žoŋgo-ga dur-gan dıba-lar alday aymak-ı-nda dur-ar.

this China-Dat. stay-PPart. Tuva-Pl. Altay district-Poss.-Loc. stay-Pr.Indef.

These Tuvas who live in China live in the Altay district.

bo xaba awdan-ı-nıŋ akkaba kıstak-ı-nda bar.

this Kaba county-Poss.Gen. Akkaba village-Poss.-Loc. exist

There are Tuvas in Akkaba village of this Kaba county.

buwıršın awdan-ı-nıŋ xom-ı-nda, xanas-ı-nda bar.

Buwırshın county-Poss.-Gen. Kom-Poss.-Loc. Kanas-Poss.-Loc. exist

There are Tuvas in Kom and Kanas (villages) of the Buwırshın county.

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alday awdan-ɨ-nɪŋ gök suw alagak de-p žer-i-nde bis-diŋ

Altay county-Poss.-Gen. Kök Suw Alagak say-Ger. place-Poss.-Loc. we-Gen.

There are our Monchaks in the place called Kök Suw Alagak of

monČak-tar bar.

Monchak-Pl. exist

Altay county.

onsoonda bo göktogay bilen šingil awdan-dar-ɨ-nda da bar.

then this Köktogay and Shinggil county-Pl.-Poss.-Loc. also exist.

Then, there also are Tuvas in these Köktogay as well as in Shinggil counties.

göktogay-da temeki awɪldɪk de-p žer bar, ɪnda monČak-tar bar.

Köktogay-Loc. Temeki awildik say-Ger. place exist there Monchak-Pl. exist

There is a place called Temeki Awildik in Köktogay, and there are Monchaks there.

teginde biz-di bašgar-ɪp dur-gan bey-ebiz ol gökdogay-da dur-gan.

formerly we-Acc. govern-Ger. stay-PPart. Bey-1pl.Poss. that Köktogay-Loc. stay-PPart.

In the past, our governing Bey lived in that Köktogay (county).

taŋma moš gas-ɪnda mɪndɪg dörbölžin taŋma-sɪ bar.

seal mosh? side-Loc. such square seal-Poss. exist

Beside the moš (?) seal, he had a square seal like this.

kümüs taŋma tut-kan arzalaŋ tutkɪšdɪk. teginde mänčiŋ tarat-ɪp

silver seal hold-PPart. lion holder before Man-Qing issue-PPart.

He had a silver seal, and one that held a lion. Formerly, the Manchu Qing (government)

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žasdı mool-dan gel-gen tört taŋma bol-gan.

nickel silver Mongol-Alb. Come-PPart. four seal be-PPart.

issued (the seals). There were four seals which came from the Mongols.

bo xom bile xanas-da-gı dur-gan dıba-lar, bis dıba emes-biz

this Kom with Kanas-Loc.-Rel. stay-PPart. Tuva-Pl. we Tuva Neg.Cop.-1pl.

The Tuvas who live in these Kom and Kanas (villages), when they say they are

de-er-i mege ol.

say-Inf.-Poss. false 3rd.Col.

not Tuvas, they are wrong.

moolča žügä domaktan-ba-sın.

Mongolian why speak-Neg.-3rd.Imp.

Why would they not be speaking Mongolian?

ınžalsa dıbaša domaktan-ıp dur. olar dıba.

but Tuva speak-Ger. stand. they Tuva

Instead, they are speaking Tuva. They are Tuvas.

mäselen o-ŋ dıba bol-ı-nı dıl-ga negizdel-ip ayt-ıp dur-mın.

example it-Gen. Tuva be-Inf.-Acc. language-Dat. be based-Ger. say-Ger. stay-1sg.Cop.

For example, I am saying that their being Tuvas is based on language.

ol xom-ga öŋgä tügöl moolča domaktanba-y dıbaša domaktan-ıp odır.

that Kom-Dat. friend? all mongolian speak-Neg.-Ger. Tuva speak-Ger. sit-3rd.Col.

Our friends in Kom, all are speaking in Tuva, but not in Mongolian.

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4. Population and Movements of Tuvas in Akkaba

Narrated by Solungu of Kanas Village in September1995

mıŋ tos žüs bešen sesinči žıl-dıŋ baš-ı
thousand nine hundred fifty eighth year-Gen. beginning-Poss.
At the beginning of 1958,

zasık žurt-tıŋ bütgön mal-nar-ın gidis öw-i bilen
government people all livestock-Pl.-Acc. felt house-Poss. with
the government confiscated all the livestock and felt homes of the people

tart-ıp al-ıp, zorla-p kızıl üyök-ge gösür-di.
drag-Ger. take-Ger. force-Ger. Kızıl Uyök-Dat. relocate-Pst.
and forced them to relocate to Kızıl Uyök.

ol gez-de zor sekiriw de-p, ösgörtüw de-p
that time-Loc. big leap say-Ger. reform say-Ger.
At that time, saying it is the Great Leap Forward and saying it is reform,

büdün akkaba-da-gı dur-gan dıba-nı ayda-p olur-ıp
entire Akkaba-Loc.-Rel. stay-PPart. Tuva-Acc. drive-Ger. sit-Ger.
they drove away the entire Tuva population that lived in Akkaba , and

kızıl öyök-ge apar-dı.
Kizil Oyok-Dat. take-Pst.
took them away to Kızıl Uyök.

soŋında bir ay-nıŋ iš-i-nde sook bagay bo-(l)-gan,
at the end one month-Gen. inside-Poss.-Loc. cold bad be-PPart.
The cold was severe for a month at the end (of this relocation),

bičii aldan ool öl-di.
small sixty child die-Pst.
and sixty small children died.

onsoŋ bo bol-bas irgin de-p dedir žalaŋaš de-p
then this be-Neg. particle say-Ger. backward Zhalangash say-Ger.
Later, saying this won't work, they brought them back there to a place

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žer-ge ında äkel-di. žalaŋaš agın suwlu žer.
place-Dat. there bring-Pst. Zhalangash flow water place.
called Zhalangash. Zhalangash is a place with running water.

ınga äkel-gen soŋında bičii eki bol-dı.
there bring-PPart. after little better be-Pst.
After they brought them there, it was a little better.

ınga bir žıl tur-gan soŋında, žurt talapta-an sooŋgar
there one year stay-PPart. after people request-PPart. after
After they lived there for a year, and after the people made an appeal,

dedir göšür-üp akkaba-ga äkel-di.
backward relocate-Ger. Akkaba-Dat. bring-Pst.
they moved them back and brought them to Akkaba.

al aldan iyinči žıl-ga gel-er-de, oy, bo dıba šiwžinžuyi de-p
well, sixty second year-Dat. come-Fut.Part.-Loc. oh, this Tuva revisionist say-Ger.
Well, coming to 1962, they made false statements, saying hey, these Tuvas are

söwet bilen žašdıgı mool-ga öt-öp ba-ar dep mege ayt-ıp
soviet with outer mongol-Dat. cross-Ger. go-FutPart. say-Ger. lie say-Ger.
revisionists, and saying they will cross over to the Soviets and to Outer Mongolia, and

bis-diŋ dıba-lar-nı ayda-p olır-ıp bo xara oy de-p žer-ge äkel-gen.
we-Gen. Tuva-Pl.-Acc. drive-Ger. sit-Ger. this Kara oy say-Ger. place-Dat. bring-PPart.
they began to drive our Tuvas away and brought them to this place called Kara Oy.

xara oy-ga äkel-gen soŋında, ol žer-de on žıl-ga žook dur-gan.
Kara Oy-Dat. bring-PPart. after that place-Loc. ten year-Dat. near stay-PPart.
After they brought them to Kara Oy, the Tuvas lived almost ten years in that place.

bir mıŋ dos žüs sesen iyinči žıl akkaba žer-i-ŋge žurt
one thousand nine hundred eighty second year Akkaba place-Poss.-Dat. people
In 1982, the people moved back to

bodı-nıŋ talab-ı boyınša göš-üp bar-dı.
self-Gen. demand-Poss. according move-Ger. go-Pst.
their Akkaba country on their own.

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5. My hometown - Akkaba

Narrated by Torgun of Akkaba Village in September1995

dıba ulut-u-nuŋ žalpı žagday-ı
Tuva nation-Poss.-Gen. general situation-Poss.
The general situation of the Tuva nation

men bodum-nıŋ žurd-um-nıŋ žönünde-gi žer suw kandıg
I myself-Gen. hometown-Poss.-Gen. pertain to-Rel. land water how
Please let me tell you, according to what I know, about the general situation of

ıyaš daš-ı žönünde bodum-nıŋ bil-gen-im-še siler-ge ayt-ıp
tree stone-Poss. about myself-Poss. know-PPart.-Poss.-particle you-Dat. say-Ger.
the Tuva nation and the land and water, and what kind of trees and stones pertain to

ber-e-yin.
give-Pr.Part.-1sg.Imp.
my own hometown.

akkaba bis-diŋ kaba awdan-ga karatdın-ır.
Akkaba we-Gen. Kaba county-Dat. belong-Pr.Indef.
Akkaba belongs to our Kaba county.

o-ŋ iš-i-nde terekti awıldık akkaba kıstak de-p ayt-ır.
it-Gen. inside-Poss. Terekti Awildik Akkaba Kistak say-Ger. say-Pr.Indef.
Within it, they called it Akkaba Kıstak (of) Terekti Awıldık (of Kaba county).

akkaba-nı iyi kıstak-ka üle-er.
Akkaba-Acc. two Kistak-Dat. divide-Pr.Indef.
They divide Akkaba into two Kıstaks.

birisi-n kazak kıstak, birisi-n mool kıstak de-er.
one-Acc. Kazak Kistak one-Acc. Mongol Kistak say-Pr.Indef.
One of them is Kazak Kıstak, and they call the other Mongol Kıstak.

dıba-nıŋ žan san-ı dört žüs-dön ardık.
Tuva-Gen. person number-Poss. four hundred-Abl. more
The population of the Tuvas is more than four hundred.

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kazak-tıŋ žan san-ı üš žüs-dön ardık.
Kazak-Gen. person number-Poss. three hundred-Abl. more
The population of the Kazaks is more than three hundred.

akkaba säbet-ge žook. säbet-tiŋ šegärä-si-niŋ üsd-ü-nde.
Akkaba soviet-Dat. near soviet-Gen. border-Poss.-Gen. top-Poss.-Loc.
Akkaba is close to the Soviets. It is on the Soviet border.

o-ŋ moyun-da zan bar. zan-nıŋ üsd-ü-nde ulug dag bar.
it-Gen. neck-Loc. station exist. station-Gen. top-Poss.-Loc. big mountain exist
There is a (frontier) station on its neck. Above the station, there is a big mountain.

ol dag-nı bolbaday da-a de-p ayt-ır.
that mountain Bolbaday mountain-Poss. say-Ger. say-Pr.Indef.
They call that mountain Bolbaday Mountain.

oola-p ıŋgay on ses kilometir žor-uu-nda kanas bar.
ascend-Ger. only ten eight kilometer walk-PPart.-Loc. Kanas exist
When you walk only eighteen kilometers down (from there), there is Kanas.

dıba ulut-u bolbaday da-a-nıŋ ede-e-nde kazakstan-nıŋ
Tuva nationality-Poss. Bolbaday mountain-Poss.-Gen. foot-Poss.-Loc. Kazakstan-Gen.
The Tuva nation is located on both sides of the Akkaba river above the border of

šegärä-si-niŋ üsd-ü-nde akkaba suw-ı-nıŋ iyi žü-ü-nde
border-Poss.-Gen. upper-Poss.-Loc. Akkaba water-Poss.-Gen. two side-Poss.-Loc.
Kazakstan at the foot of Bolbaday Mountain.

ornalaš-gan. murnuu žük bolbaday da-a-nın edig al-gan,
be located-Ger. south side Bolbaday mountain-Poss.-Abl. foot take-Ger.
The south side (of their location) foots along Bolbaday Mountain.

soŋgu žük kazakstan-nın šegäräli.
north side Kazakstan-Gen. share the border
The north side shares a border Kazakstan.

burun dıba ulut-u xaba awdan-da-gı xara oy de-en žer-ge
earlier Tuva nation-Poss. Xaba county-Loc.-Rel. Kara Oy say-PPart. place-Dat.
Before, the Tuva nation lived in a place called Kara Oy in Kaba county.

dur-gan. ard-ı-nın dıba ulut-u göž-üp akkaba-ga gel-gen.
stay-PPart. back-Poss.-Abl. Tuva nation-Poss. move-Ger. Akkaba-Dat. come-PPart.
After that, the Tuva nation migrated and came back to Akkaba.

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dıba kıstak-tıŋ žan san-ı dört žüs žeže-niŋ üsd-i-nde.
Tuva Kistak-Gen. people number-Poss. four hundred some-Gen. above-Poss.-Loc.
The population of the Tuva Kıstak is over four hundred something.

eŋ bašday bar-ıp dur-ar-da aldı žüs žeže. käzir dört žüs-diŋ
the very at first go-Ger. stay-Fut.Part.-Loc. six hundred some. now four hundred
When they first arrived, it was six hundred something. Now, it is over four hundred.

üsd-i-nde. eŋ bašday bar-ıp dur-ar-da ındıg göböy giši,
above-Poss.-Loc. the very at first go-Ger. stay-Fut.Part.-Loc. that many people
I do not know why there were so many people when they first arrived and

käzir žügö ebeešde-p gal-gan, men de bil-bes-ben.
now why decline-Ger. remain-PPart. I also know-Neg.-1sg. Cop.
now I don't know [why](the population) has declined.

üytgönü akkaba-da-gı giši-ler kaba awdan-da-gı xara oy de-gen
so Akkaba-Loc.-Rel. people-Pl. Kaba county-Loc.-Rel. Kara Oy say-PPart.
So, the people in Akkaba lived in the place called Kara Oy in

žer-ge dur-gan burun.
place-Dat. stay-PPart. before
Kaba county before.

mool-dar-nıŋ žagday-ı eki de-yir. žem-i eki dur-gan.
Mongol-Pl.-Gen. situation-Poss. good say-FPart. food-Poss. good stay-PPart.
It seems that the situation of the Mongols is good. They have enough food.

osında sezen üšünči žıl ıŋgay göš-üp bar-gan.
here eighty third year only move-Ger. go-PPart.
They only moved here in 1983.

göš-üp bar-ıp dur-ar-da öw žibe žok dur-gan.
move-Ger. go-Ger. stay-Fut.Part.-Loc. house thing no stay-PPart.
When they moved (here) to live, no houses or anything existed.

osonda ıyaš gez-ip öw gaža ga-ap, mal azıra-p,
there wood cut-Ger. house enclosure build-Ger. livestock raise-Ger.
Here they subsisted by cutting down trees and building houses and pens,

taraa tarı-p, tın azıra-n-ıp dur-gan.
grain plant-Ger. life raise-Ps.-Ger. stay-PPart.
tending livestock and farming (growing grain).

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dıba-lar negizinen taraa tar-ıp žan ba-ar.
Tuva-Pl. basically grain grow-Ger. life care for-Pre.Indef.
The Tuvas basically get through life by farming (growing grain).

key birei malčı-nın žan ba-ar.
certain some herdsman-Abl. life care for-Pre.Indef.
Certain ones get through life as herders.

baza turmuž-ı ındıg eki emes.

also life-Poss. that good no

And their life is not so good.

6. A Personal History

Narrated by Kongir of Akkaba Village in September1995

bis-dıŋ bo akkaba-da žurt-tu mončak de-er.

we-Gen. this Akkaba-Loc. people-Acc. Monchak say-PresIndef.

They call the people in this Akkaba of ours Monchaks.

olar erte šag-da bo orus-tıŋ säbet žaysaŋ göl-ü xommalga

they early time-Loc. this Russian-Gen. soviet Zaysang lake-Poss. Hommalga

It seems that in earlier times they came from a place called Hommalga (near) this

de-p žer-nen gel-gen irgin.

say-Ger. place-Abl. come-PPart. Particle.

Soviet Zaysang lake of the Russians.

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ol mıŋ tos žüs on žedinči žıl-dar-ı könö šar patča-zı oylat-ıp

it thousand nine hundred ten seventh year-Pl.-Poss. old tsar king-Poss. chase-Ger.

In 1907, the old Tsarist emperor chased them

bo žer-ge äkel-ip ka-an. oson bortta gel-geli buruŋgı ulug

this place-Dat. bring-Ger. leave-PPart. later here come-since previous old

and brought them to this place. According to the old folks,

ulus-tar-nıŋ ayt-ır-ı-nda bes žüs žeže žıl-dan artık bol-gan.

peole-Pl.-Gen. say-PresIndef.-Poss.-Loc. five hundred many year-Abl. more be-PPart.

it has been more than five hundred something years since after they came here.

bortta gel-gen-men mıŋ tos žüs dörtön sesinči žıl gel-gen-men bo.

here come-PPart.-1st. thousand nine hundred forty eighth year come-PPart.-1st. this.

I came here, I came here in 1948, it was.

ol gel-gen žıl-dın bašta-p mektep gag-dırd-ıp nom öröt-di-m

that come-PPart. year-Abl. start-Ger. school build-Caus.-Ger. lesson teach-Pst.-1.sg.

Starting from the year I came, I had them (the Tuva) build a school and I have taught

bolar-ga.

they-Dat.

there.

dörtdön tozınčı žıl-dın bašta-p mektep-te kızmet iste-p mugalım bol-du-m,

forty nineth year-Abl. start-Ger. school-Loc. job do-Ger. teacher be-Pst.-1.sg.

I have been a teacher employed at the school starting in1949, and I have been principal,

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šiawžaŋ bol-du-m bo. amdı demal-ı-ga ün-üp žet-tı-m men.

principal be-Pst.-1.sg. this. Now rest-Inf.-Dat. enter-Der. reach-Pst.-1.sg. I

it was. Now I am retired.

käzir bo žurt burungu-zı-nan ebeeše-en bol-ba-sa göböy-gön

now this peole before-Poss.-Abl. decline-PPart. be-Neg.-if increase-PPart.

Now, this hometown has gone from what it was, or anyway there's no way

žer-i žok. dörtön tosınčı žıl-gı dört žüs sesen tın-nın

place-Poss. Neg. exist forty ninth year-Rel. four hundred eighty life-Abl.

it went up, no way. Of 480 people of 1949,

käzir barı üš žüs tozan tın kal-dı. ebeešed-di.

now altogether three hundred ninety life remain-Pst. decline-Pst.

now 390 people remain altogether. It's declined.

bo-oŋ göb-ü aarıg sırgak.

this-Gen. most-Poss. sick ill

Most of them are sick and ill.

käzir bičii eki bo-p olur-gan-ı bo.

now little good be-Ger. sit-PPart.-Poss. this

Now, they've been getting a little better.

bir žer-de žıgıl-ıp nom ertem mektep-i de ortalaw-ga žed-ir.

one place-Loc. gather-Ger. book learning school-Poss. also middle-Dat. reach-Pre.Indef.

They gather together (in one school) and reach school in the educational system.

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bodu-nuŋ dıl-ı dıba dıl, bırak dıba dıl-dıŋ bodu iš-ge

self-Gen. language-Poss. Tuva language, but Tuva language-Gen. itself work-Dat.

Their own language is Tuva, but Tuva by itself will not work.

as-bas. bis-diŋ nomna-d-ır žibe-biz žıŋ mool dıl-ı

pass-Neg. we-Gen. teach-Caus.-Pre.Indef. thing-2.pl.Poss. true Mongol language-Poss.

What we teach is pure Mongolian,

žäne ol dıl-dı öröd-ür kerek.

and that language-Acc. teach-Inf. necessary

and we have to teach that language.

dıba-nıŋ ool-dar-ı-ŋga bolšug-ı kün ötkür-üp olur-gan bo

Tuva-Gen. child-Pl.-Poss.-Dat. way of life-3Poss. day pass-Ger. sit-PPart. this

This way of life is lived by the Tuva people.

maldıg bay-ı da bar, žo-o da bar.

with livestock rich-Poss. also exist, Neg.exist -Poss. also exist

There are both rich and poor in livestock.

kiši tözü deŋ emes. eki-si de bar, bagay-sı da bar.

person every equal not good-Poss. also exist bad-Poss. also exist

Everyone is not equal. There is both good and bad.

bo akkaba-nıŋ žurd-u-nıŋ žalpı beedil-i. baška žok.

this Akkaba-Gen. people-Poss.-Gen. general condition-Poss. other Neg.exist

This is the general situation of these people of Akkaba. There is nothing else (to say).

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7. The Tuva Language

Narrated by Solungu of Akkaba Village in September1995

amdı bo dıba žönnün ayt-kan-da, dıba dıl özgör-e

now this Tuva as far as say-PPart.-Dat. Tuva language change-Ger.

Now, speaking about this Tuva language, it is true that Tuva has changed.

bara-a šındık. özgör-e bar-a-ı bis-diŋ bo dıba dıl tek

go-Ger. truth. change-Poss. go-Ger.-Poss. we-Gen. this Tuva language only

It is changing (because) we only speak this Tuva language of ours

bo akkaba-nıŋ iš-i-nde öw-niŋ iš-i-ŋge gene

this Akkaba-Gen. inside-Poss.-Loc. house-Gen. inside-Poss.-Dat. only

in this Akkaba

domakdan-ar-bız.

speak-Pr.Indef.-2.pl.

and in the home.

kogam-ga ün-ör-de iš ažılda-ar-da kazakša materiyal

society-Dat. enter-Pr.Indef.-Loc. work do-Pr.Indef.-Loc. kazak material

When we go into society or when we are at work, we speak Kazak when it comes

gel-er-de kazakša domaktan-ar-bız. onun ıŋgay awdan ürümži

come-Pr.Indef.-Loc. Kazak speak-Pr.Indef.-1.pl. then always county Urumchi

to Kazak subject matter. Then they always have to speak Chinese when they go to

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žešey žer-ge bar-gan-da xanzuša domaktan-ır bol-ba-sa kazakša da

like place-Dat. go-Ger.Loc. Han speak-Ger. be-Neg.-Cond. kazak also

places like the county (town) or Urumchi, since Kazak has no status (there in Urumchi)

güš-ü-nen kal-ır. al am bis moolša nomšu-p dur-bız.

might-Poss.-Abl. left-Pr.Indef. well now we Mongolian read-Ger. stay-1.pl.

either. Well, now we study Mongolian.

išdi mool-dıŋ xudma üzü-ü-n nomšu-p, moolša nomšu-p dur-bız.

inside Mongol-Gen. hudma letter-Poss.-Acc. study-Ger. Mongol study-Ger. stand-1.pl.

Among ourselves, we study the Hudma (Mongolian) script and we study Mongolian.

bis-diŋ moolša nomšu-un ool-ubuz tek mektep-tiŋ iš-i-ŋge gene

we-Gen. Mongol study-Ger. child-2.pl.Poss. only school-Gen. inside-Poss.-Dat. only

Our kids who study Mongolian only speak it at school. We only teach the kids by

domakdan-ır. ol ool-dar-ga awdar-ıp gene nomšud-ur-bız.

speak-Pr.Indef. that child-Pl.-Dat. translate-Ger. only teach-Pr.Part.-2ndPl.

Translating (from Mongolian into Tuva).

onson bol-gan-nan geder on-ı ganžaar de-seŋ.

after be-PPart.-Abl. up to it-Acc. how say-2ndCond.

Since this is so, how much can you expect from them.

kogam-ga ün-gön-nen geder öw-ü-ge bar-gan-aan

society-Dat. turn-PPart.-Abl. up to home-Poss.-Dat. go-PPart.-Abl.

When they go home until they go back out into society,

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gederi dıba dıl domaktan-ır.

until Tuva language speak-PrIndef.

they speak Tuva.

ada-ene-si-nen olar moolša domaktan-gan bilen mool bil-bes ol.

grandparents-3rd Poss.-Abl. they mongolian speak-PPart. with Mongol know-Neg. he

Even though they want to speak to their grandparents in Mongolian but they (grandparents) don't know Mongol.

baxšı-lar-ı ool-dar-ga moolša domaktan-gan bilen men

teacher-Pl.-Poss. child-Pl.-Dat. Mongolian speak-PPart. with Instr.

Even though their teachers speak to the kids in Mongolian, no matter what

öw-gö bar-gan soŋ da olar ganžaar de-diŋiz dıbaša domaktan-ar.

home-Dat. go-PPart. after also they how say-2nd. Tuva speak-Pr.Indef.

you say (to them), after they go home they speak in Tuva.

am uluu giši bol-sa žagarı-nan bir materiyal xužat gel-se,

now big people be-Cond. above-Abl. one material document come-Cond.

Now, as for the adults, if an official document comes from above (the government),

ol kazakša. o-oŋ bilen bis-der kazı-p bil-e sal-ı-bız ödö aar.

it Kazak. it-Gen. with we-Pl. read-Ger. know put-Inf.-1.pl. very difficult

it is in Kazak. Therefore, it is very difficult for us to read and understand it.

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bir giši bol-ur ušun bodıbıs-dıŋ dıba ult-ıbız-dı

one person be-Pr.Indef. for ourselves-Gen. Tuva nationality-2.pl.Poss.-Acc.

It would seem that we have to learn Mongolian in order to be people, in order to

sakta-p kal-ır ušun moolša öörön-e-büz kerek irgin.

preserve-Ger. remain-Inf. for Mongolian learn-Inf.-1.pl.Poss. need particle

preserve our own Tuva ethnic identity. (said sarcastically)

onson, kogam-ga ülös-üp žor-or ušun söšžok

also society-Dat. follow-Ger. walk-Inf. for definitely

Also, it would seem that we definitely have to know Kazak in order to follow

kazakša bil-ir kerek irgin.

kazak know -Inf. need particle

along into society. (also said sarcastically)

ulug iyik-ten ab ayt-kan-da, memleket-tiŋ dıl-ı

broad aspect-Abl. take say-PPart.-Loc. state-Gen. language-Poss.

Speaking from a broad perspective, we have to learn Chinese because

xanzu bol-gan ušun xanzuša öörön-er kerek-dir.

Chinese be-PPart. for Chinese learn-Ifn. need-3.sg.

Chinese is the state language.

al ürümži-ge bar-sa , oygur dıl-ı-n bil-be-se de

well Urumchi-Dat. go-Cond. Uygur language-Poss.-Acc. know-Neg.-Cond. also

Well, if someone goes to Urumchi, it won't do if s/he doesn't know the Uygur language.

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bol-bas. ınžangaš käzir men bodum mıysalı, mončak dıl bil-er-meen,

be-Neg. therefore now I myself example Monchak language know-Pr.Indef.-I

Therefore, now, taking my own example, I know Monchak,

mool dıl bil-er-meen, kazak dıl bil-er-meen, xansuša

Mongol language know-Pr.Indef.-1st Kazak langauge know-Pr.Indef.-I , Chinese

I know Mongolian, I know Kazak, (and) I know Chinese.

bil-er-meen. oygır dıl-ı da biči-bičı öörön-üp žoroor-meen.

know-Pr.Indef.-I. Uygur language-Poss. also gradually learn-Ger. walk- Pr.Indef.-I.

I have also learned a little bit of Uygur.

žügö de-seŋ, ürümži-ge bar-gan-da oygurša domaktan-ba-saŋ,

why say-2nd.Cond. Urumchi-Dat. go-Ger.-Loc. Uygur speak-Neg.-2nd.Cond.

If you ask why, (it is because) if you do not speak Uygur when you go to Urumchi,

kazak dıl domaktan-saŋ olar baza taar-ıp, žaktır-bas žagday bar.

Kazak language speak-2nd.Cond. they also rebuke-Ger. like-Neg. circumstance exist

[and]if you speak Kazak, there will be a situation where they rebuke and do not like you.

o-oŋ bilen bis-dı mındıg mındıg da žägday bar. kazakša domaktan-saŋ,

it-Gen. with we-Acc. such such also situation exist. Kazak speak-2nd.Cond.

Moreover, we have experienced such kinds of situations where they will say to you Hey

olar oy koŋkabay de-er. oygurša domakdan-saŋ eki gör-ör.

they hey Kongkabay say-PrIndef. Uygur speak-2nd.Cond. good consider-Pr.Indef.

Kongkabay if you speak Kazak. They will like you if you speak Uygur.

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ol iyik-nen gel-gen-de bisder mıysalı, am ol žer-ge

that respect-Abl. come-Ger.-Loc. we for example now that place-Dat.

When it comes to that aspect, for example, now, when it comes to that place, in all

gel-gen-de ärkandık ädet-de pukara-nıŋ bodu da üš türlü dıl

come-Ger.-Loc. any kind situation-Loc. mass-Gen. self also three kind language

sorts of situations, the common people have to know three different languages.

bil-er kerek. mončakta-sa o-nı bodu burun-nın bil-er.

know-Inf. need speak Monchak-Cond. it-Acc. itself before-Abl. know-3rd.PrIndef.

As far as speaking Monchak, one knows it already.

onsoŋ, kazak bilen kansu bil-er kerek. keybiresi mool dıl

also Kazak with Chinese know-Inf. need some of them Mongol language

Also, they have to know Kazak and Chinese. Some of them don't know Mongolian.

bil-bes uluu amtan-nar-nıŋ keybiresi gene bil-er.

know-Neg. big people-Pl.-Gen. some of only know-3rd.Pr.Indef.

Only some of the older people know it.

8. House Building

Narrated by Torgun of Akkaba Village in September1995 in Urumchi

dıba-lar-nıŋ öw-lör-i tuwralı xoču.

Tuva-Pl.-Gen house-Pl.-Poss. about story

A story about the Tuvas' houses.

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bis-diŋ akkaba-nıŋ öw-lör-i-niŋ güp-ü daŋnıŋ žayın

we-Gen. Akkaba-Gen. house-Pl.-Poss.-Gen. many-Poss. always summer

Always when it is summer, most of our households in Akkaba

bol-ır-da gidis öw-ge olur-ur.

Be-Pr.Part.-Loc. felt house-Dat. live-Pr.Indef.

live in felt homes.

malčı-lar xoy kadar-ır, inek kadar-ır.

herder-Pl. sheep herd-Pr.Indf. cow herd-Pr.Indef.

Herders herd the sheep and herd the cows.

giši-ler daŋnıŋ gidis öw-ge olur-ur.

people-Pl. always felt house-Dat. live-Pr.Indef.

People always live in felt houses (when they herd).

gidis öw-nıŋ iš-i-n ıyaš-dan žaza-ar. baza iš-i-n

felt house-Gen. inside-Poss.-Acc. wood-Abl make-Pr.Indef. and inside-Poss.-Acc.

They make the inside of the felt house out of wood. Also they paint it all inside. It is

sırla-p ka-ar böörüŋke žibe-šibi-i bol-ur.

paint-Ger. put-PresIndf globular something-3rd.Poss. be-Pr.Indef.

something that is round.

sırakayla-y sırakayla-y šar-ıp žütüülik žep-penin šar-ıp ka-ar.

tighten-Ger. tighten-Ger. wrap-Ger. strong rope-Instr. wrap-Ger. put-Pr.Indef.

They wrap it up real tight. They wrap it with strong ropes.

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duguruk kelberlig gıldır ka-ar. *keybir öw-lör-ni*

round shape as put-Pr.Indef. some house-Pl.-Acc.

They put it up so that it is round in shape. Just look at some of the houses,

gör-de, üsdü böörüŋke bagına kelberlig ka-ar.

look-Prt. up spherical pillar shape put-Pr.Indef.

they put them up in the shape of a spherical top on the top.

žibe-šibi *töbe ka-ar.* *gidis-di xoy-nıŋ* *dük-ü-n sawa-aš*

something roof put-PresIndef. felt-Acc. sheep-Gen. wool-Poss.-Acc. strike-Ger.

They put on some sort of roof. They make the felt by striking the sheep's wool and

teresin-ge *ka-ap* *bas-ar.* *teresin-niŋ* *üsd-ü-ge* *ka-aš*

grass mat-Dat. put-Ger. make-Pr.Indef. grass mat-Gen. surface-Poss.-Dat. put-Ger.

putting it on a grass mat. They put it on top of the grass mat, pour hot water on it

izig suw žaš-ıp *bas-ar.* *izig suw žaš-gan-nan* *soŋgar dedir*

hot water pour-Ger. press-Pr.Indef. hot water pour-PPart.-Abl. after backward

and press it. After they have poured hot water over it, they tie a rope around it and pull

argamžı-nın šar-ıp *dırt-ar.* *bir saat emeze iyi saat kireli dırt-gaš*

lasso-Instr. wrap-Ger. pull-Pr.Indef. one hour or two hour about pull-Ger.

it back and forth. After pulling it back and forth for around one or two hours,

dedir. *žuw-gaš* *kurga-t-ır.*

backward wash-Ger. dry-Caus.-Pr.Indef.

they wash and dry it.

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bir ay-nın soŋgar bıžır-ır de-p izig suw kud-up bıžır-ır.

one month-Abl. after cook-Pr.Part. say-Ger. hot water pour-Ger. boil-Pr.Indef.

After a month, when it's ready, they prepare it by pouring hot water on it.

soson on-ı kurga-t-ır. kes-ip böörüŋke

after it-Acc. dry-Caus.-Pr.Indef. cut-Ger. spherical

Then they dry it. They cut it up,

bagına kelberlıg on iyi žü-ü-n kes-ip ka-ar-da debiyür

pillar shape twelve edge-Poss.-Acc. cut-Ger. put-Pr.Part.-Loc. fan

and when they finish cutting twelve feathers in the shape of a spherical top,

kelberlig bop kal-ır. oson on-ı dara-ar, dara-ar-nın soŋgar

shape as stay-Pr.Indef. then it-Acc. unwrap-Pr.Indef. unwrap-Pr.Part.-Abl.after

it takes the shape of a fan. Then they unwrap it, and after unwrapping it,

gidis öw kıl-ıp žaylaw-ga ün-ör. kıstak-tıŋ

felt house make-Ger. summer pasture-Dat. move out-Pr.Indef. village-Gen.

they make a felt house and move to summer pasture.

iš-i-nde-gi keybir malčı ewes giši-ler ıyaš öw-ge olur-ur.

inside-Poss.-Loc.-Rel.Cl. some herder Neg.Cl. person-Pl. wood house-Dat. live-Pr.Indef.

Some persons in the village who are not herders live in wood houses.

ıyaš öw-niŋ urtu uzun aldı metir kıl-ıp ka-ar.

wood house-Gen. length long six meter make-Ger. put-Pr.Indef.

They make the length of a piece of wood six meters long.

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örgün-in beš metir emeze dört metir kıl-ıp ka-ar.

width-Acc. five meter or four meter make-Ger. put-Pr.Indef.

They make its width five meters or four meters.

üsd-ü-n xoyug ıyaš emeze sırgawbul-dın žon-ıp ka-ar.

top-Poss.-Acc. rafter wood or sirgawbul-Abl. plane-Ger. put-Pr.Indef.

They make the top by planing the rafter wood and sirgawbul.

o-ŋ üsd-i-nin čigen ka-ar.

it-Gen. top-Poss.-Abl. hay put-Pr.Indef.

They put hay on top of it.

oson doburak ka-ar. širikte-er.

then dirt put-Pr.Indef. smooth out-Pr.Indef.

Then they put dirt, and they smooth it out.

keybir öw-lör üsd-ü-n daktayla-p al-ır.

some family-Pl. top-Poss.-Acc. lay board-Ger. take-Pr.Indef.

Some families lay boards on top.

üš dörbülžinnig gıldır ka-ar.

three square (room) as put-PresIndef.

They make it so it has three rooms.

dört dörbülžın-nıg gıldır ka-aš-dın daktayla-p al-sa da

four square (room) as put-Ger.-Abl. lay board-Ger. take-Cond. also

After making it so it has four rooms, they may lay boards.

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bol-ur. *ald-ɨ-n* *ka-ar-da* *gaz-ɪp* *al-ɪr.*

be-Pr.Indef. under-Poss.-Acc. put-Pr.Part.-Loc. dig-Ger. take-Pr.Indef.

When they put in the floor, they dig it (they level the ground).

keybiresi daš *ka-ap* *ka-ar.* *ald-ɨ-nga* *daš* *ka-ap*

some of stone lay-Ger. put-Pr.Indef. under-Poss.-Dat. stone put-Ger.

Some of them put down stone. If they put down stone on the floor, it will

kag-sa *bišɪg* *bol-ur.* *keybir žagday-ɪ* *gel-bes*

put-Cond. solid be-Pr.Indef. some condition-Poss. come-Neg.

be solid. People without certain possibilities do not put down stone.

giši-ler *daš* *gag-bas.* *dašta-y* *al-bas.* *äydew* *ald-ɨ-n*

person-Pl. stone put-Neg.Pr.Indef. lay stone-Ger. Abil.-Neg. anyhow under-Poss.Acc.

They are unable to lay stone.

tegiste-en *šigi* *bol-gaš-dɪn* *üsd-ü-nüŋ* *ɪyaš-ɪn* *ga-ap* *ga-ar.*

smooth-Ger. like be-Ger.-Abl. top-Poss.-Abl. wood-Acc. put-Ger. put-Pr.Indef.

After it appears to be smoothed, they put the wood on top of it.

bir *ɪyaš-ɪn* *kird-ɪp* *žoŋ-gaš* *üsd-ü-nün* *žeŋes ga-ap* *epdešdirip*

some wood-Acc. cut-Ger. plane-Ger. top-Poss.-Abl. moss put-Ger. carefully

They cut up and plane some logs and carefully put moss on top of them.

ga-ar. *žeŋes-diŋ* *üsd-ü-nün* *ɪyaš* *ga-ar.*

put-Pr.Indef. moss-Gen. top-Poss.-Abl. wood put-Pr.Indef.

They put logs on top of the moss.

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bir öw-nüŋ tuwırga-zı-n ka-ar-da on dört ıyaš bol-ur.

one house-Gen. wall-Poss.-Acc. put-Ger.-Loc. fourteen wood be-Pr.Indef.

When they build the walls of some houses, there will be fourteen logs.

eŋ bičii ga-ar-da dört bölmölüg ga-ar. o-ŋ dašdında

most small put-Pr.Part.-Loc. four room put-Pr.Indef. it-Gen. next to

When they put up the smallest (house) they make four rooms. They also

bir bölmö gıldır ga-ar. dašında bir bölmöge kıšın et žem žibe

one room as put-Pr.Indef. close to one room-Dat. winter meat foods thing

build another room next to them. They put the winter meat and provisions in that

ka-ap al-ır. kıšın ži-ir žem žibe-si-n ka-ar.

put-Ger. take-PrsIndf. winter eat-Pr.Part. food thing-Poss.-Acc. put-Pr.Indef.

next room. They put their provisions which they eat in the winter there.

žayın bol-ır-da išd-i-n šeberle-p žem kıl-ıp iš-er.

summer become-Ger.-Loc. inside-Poss.-Acc. clean-Ger. food make-Ger. eat-PrsIndf.

When it becomes summer, they clean up the inside of it (that room), make food and eat it.

žayın gerbiš gıldır mešit ka-ap baza žem kıl-ıp iš-er.

summer brick as oven put-Ger. and food cook-Ger. eat-Pr.Indef.

In the summer, they make an oven out of bricks, and make food and eat it.

bıžır-ıp al-ır. žibe ka-ap al-ır. ka-an

cook-Ger. take-Pr.Indef. something put-Ger. take-Pr.Indef. put-PPart.

They cook it. They put things on it (the food). In the insides of the houses

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öw-lör-i-niŋ išd-i-ŋge keybiresi xonak öw žıt-ar öw

house-Pl.-Poss.-Gen. inside-Poss.-Dat. some of guest room lie-FutPart. room

some of them make a guest room,

urug-tar-ı-nıŋ žıt-ar öw-ü gıl-ıp al-ır. keybiresi

child-Pl.-Poss.-Gen. lie-FutPart. room-Poss. make-Ger. take-Pr.Indef. some of

a bed room, and a children's bedroom.

daktayla-p al-ır. keybiresi ald-ı-n semontta-p al-ır.

lay boards-Ger. take-Pr.Indef. some of under-Poss.Acc. cement-Ger. take-Pr.Indef.

Some of them lay boards. Some of them put down cement floors.

men boda-sa-m ald-ı-n semontta-p al-sa bišıg tamaša

I think-Cond.1sg. under-Poss.-Acc. cement-Ger. take-Cond. solid wonderful

I would think it would be something solid and perfect if one makes a cement

žibe -šibi bol-ur. keybiresi ak doburak ka-aš-dın, tapda-p

something be-PrsIndf. some one white earth put-Ger.-Abl. trample-Ger.

floor. Some of them, after putting down kaolin (clay), trample it (down).

al-ır. oŋ iš-i-nde baza žem gıl-ır, žıt-ar xonak

take-Pr.Indef. it-Gen. inside-Poss.-Loc. also food make-Pr.Indef. lie-FutPart. guest

Inside of it (this room) they also prepare food. It will be a bedroom or guest room.

öw bol-ur. keybir amtan-nar bodu-nuŋ žagday-ı gel-be-se

room be-Pr.Indef. some people-Pl. self-Gen. condition-Poss. come-Neg.-Cond.

If some people do not have the possibilities,

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iyi öw üš öw-nin žor-ıy be-er.

two house three house-Instr. go-Ger. give-Pr.Indef.

they get by with a two or three (room) house.

9. Personal History

Narrated by Torgun of Akkaba Village in September1995 in Urumchi

men-iŋ at-ım torgun. bo žıl on žedi žaštıg-men.

I-Gen. name-Poss. Torgun. this year seventeen year-I

My name is Turgun. I am seventeen years old this year.

akkaba-nıŋ išd-i-nde bis-di monča de-p ayt-ır.

Akkaba-Gen. inside-Poss.-Loc. we-Acc. Monchak say-Ger. say-Pr.Indef.

They call us Monchak in the Akkaba.

baška giši-ler mončak de-p ayt-ır. bis bodubuz išd-ibiz-de

other people-Pl. Monchak say-Ger. say-Pr.Indef. we ourselves inside-1pl.Poss.-Loc.

Other people call us Monchak. We call ourselves Tuva among ourselves.

dıba-bız. men taraŋgay de-en giši-niŋ uru-u-men. bis-diŋ

Tuva-we. I Taranggay say-PPart. person-Gen. daughter-Poss.-I. we-Gen.

I am the daughter of Taranggay. There are seven people in our family.

öw-de žedi giši bar. men dördünči-si bol-ur-men.

house-Loc. seven person exist. I fourth-Poss. be-Pr.Indef.-I.

I am the fourth in the family.

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aba-m burun bis bičii tur-ar-da žok bo-p kal-ıp-dur.

father-Poss. early we small stay-Pr.Indef.-Loc. Neg.exist be-Ger. stay-Ger. Pr.Indef.

My father passed away when we were very small.

men-nin ulug iyi aga-m bar. eŋ ulug egiči-m at-ı külžüŋ,

I-Gen. big two brother-Poss. exist. most big elder sister-Poss. name-Poss. Kulzhung

I have two older brothers. My eldest sister's name is Külzhüng.

iyinči aga-m-nıŋ at-ı tärbiye, üšünči aga-m at-ı

second brother-Poss.-Gen. name-Poss. Tarbiye, third brother-Poss. name-Poss.

My second brother's name is Tarbiye and my third brother's name is Altıncha.

altınča. xoŋ osında-men torgun. meen čoŋgar, buyun, buyunbat.

Altincha. hey all here-I Torgun. my Chonggar, Buyun, Buyunbat,

Hey,and here I am, Torgun. I have younger brothers named Chonggar, Buyun,

ulanbayır, čıŋgıs de-en duŋma-lar-ım bar.

Ulanbayir, Chinggis say-PPart. younger brother-Pl.-Poss. exist.

Buyunbat, Ulanbayır and Chinggis.

meen aga-m sezen aldınčı žıl bo mektep-din bütür-gen.

my elder brother-Poss. eighty sixth year this school-Abl. graduate-PPart.

My elder brother graduated from this school in 1986.

iyinči aga-m sezenči žıl ge-ep bütür-gen.

second elder brother-Poss. eightieth year come-Ger. finish-PPart.

My second brother came here in 1980 and graduated.

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egiči-m tozanči žıl gel-gen. bodum tozan üšünči žıl gel-gen-men.

elder sister-Poss. ninetieth year come-PPart. myself ninety third year come-PPart.-I

My elder sister came here in 1990. I, myself came here in 1993.

gel-gen soŋgaar, men mool dıl domaktan-ıy al-bas-bın

come-PPart. after, I Mongolian language speak-Ger. able-Neg.-I

After I came, they said I was from the Tuva nation, since I could not speak

de-p tur-ar-da dıba ündüsüten de-p ayt-dı.

say-Ger. stay-Pre.Indef.-Loc. Tuva nationality say-Ger. say-Past.

Mongolian.

art-ı-nın mool-dıŋ išd-i-ŋge žor-ıy žor-ıy eki

back-Poss.-Abl. Mongol-Gen. inside-Poss.-Dat. walk-Ger. walk-Ger. good

Later, being among the Mongols again and again, I was able to speak good Mongolian.

domaktan-ır bol-du-m. bis-di eŋ bašday ge-ep dur-ar-da kazak

speak-Pr.Indef. be-Pst.-1.pl. we-Acc. most first come-Ger. stay-Pr.Part.-Loc. Kazak

When we first came here, they would call us Kazaks. Other students would say that

de-p ayt-dı-r. baška okuwšı-lar bis-di alday-nıŋ žibi-ler-i kazak

say-Ger. say-Pst.-3.pl. other student-Pl. we-Acc. Alaty-Gen. thing-Pl.-Poss. Kazak

those who came from Altay are Kazaks. However, when they say we are Kazaks and we

de-p ayt-dı-r. bırakta ayt-ır-da bisder kazak de-er-de iye

say-Ger. say-Pst.-3.pl. but say-Ger.-Loc. we Kazak say-Pr.Part.-Loc. yes

simply acknowledge it and say "Yes, (we are Kazaks.)"

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de-y sal-ır-biz. bırakta bisder bälen-tügön de-p žibele-bes-biz.

say-Ger. put-Pr.Indef.-1.pl. however we so and so say-Ger. say s.th.-Neg.-1.pl.

And we would not argue about it.

bolar uk-bas bis-dıŋ dıl-ıbız-dı osında. bister bakšı-lar

they understand-Neg. we-Gen. language-1.pl.Poss.-Acc. here. we teacher-Pl.

Here, they do not understand our language. We do not understand some of the lessons

nomšu-ur-da keybir nom-nar-nı šala-mužuk bil-ip tur-ar-bız.

read-Pr.Part.-Loc. some lesson-Pl.-Acc. insufficient know-Ger. stand-Pr.Indef.-1.pl.

completely while the teachers are teaching.

art-ı-nın bir iyi üš ay-nın soŋgar öörön-e bar-dı-k.

after-Poss.-Abl. one two three month after learn-Ger. go-Pst-1st.Pl.

Later, after one, two, three months we began to learn.

bisder žeže mončak bol-sa-da, bisder mool-dıŋ išd-i-ŋge

we how much Monchak be-Cond.-Dat. we Mongol-Gen. inside-Poss.-Dat.

No matter how many Monchaks there are, we are not inferior from other students

gir-ip öörön-üp kadıg žor-up dur-ar-da baška okuwšı-lar-nan

enter-Ger. learn-Ger. hard walk-Ger. stand-Pr.Part.-Loc. other student-Pl.-Abl.

among the Mongols when we are trying to study very hard.

kem kal- ba-ym žor-or-bız. keybir baxšı-lar bil-ir, keybir

worse remain-Neg.-Ger. walk-Pr.Indef.-1.pl. some teacher-Pl. know-Pr.Indef. some

Some teachers know this and others do not know.

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baxšı-lar bil-bes. bil-er baxšı-lar elik gıl-gan žibe-šibi

teacher-Pl. know-Neg. know-Fut.Part. teacher-Pl. good make-Ppart. something

Those teachers who know say something

domaktan gıl-ar.

speak make-Pr.Indef.

nice (something like a deer).

10. Folktale: "Old Lady Dektene"

Narrated by Bawang-Bolat of Akkaba Village in September1995

erte burun šaa-da bir kara xalžan attı dege xalžan attı dektene

early before time-Loc. one black blaze with horse goat blaze with horse Dektene

A long time ago, there is an old lady named Old Lady Dektene who has a horse with a

xoočın de-p bir xoočın bol-up-tur.

old lady say-Ger.one old lady be-Ger-Be.

Black blaze, who has a horse with a goat (-shaped) blaze.

dektene xoočın-nıŋ dege-si-n sag-sa, sidi-i süt bol-ur,

Dektene old lady-Gen. he-goat-Poss.-Acc. milk-Cond. urine-Poss milk be-Pr.Indef.

When Old Lady Dektene milks her goat (-blazed horse), its urine is milk, and its dung

mıya-a aaršı üs bol-ur.

dung-3Poss. curd-cheese butter be-Pr.Indef.

is cheese and butter.

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on-ı kündölö ži-p žor-ur.

it-Acc. everyday eat-Ger. walk-Pr.Indef.

She eats this everyday.

bir žılgıžı aškıyak dege xalžan attı dektene xoočın-ga gel-ip,

one horseman old man goat blaze with horse Dektene old lady-Dat. come-Ger.

An old horse-herder, comes to Old Lady Dektene who has the horse with a goat blaze,

dege xalžan attı xoočın-nıŋ üs-ü-n ži-ir. üs-ü

goat blaze with horse old lady-Gen. butter-Poss.-Acc. eat-Pr.Indef. butter-Poss.

and eats the butter of the old lady who has the horse with a goat blaze. Its butter is so

indıg taptıg. aaršı-sı-n ži-ir. aaršı-sı ındıg taptıg.

such sweet cheese-Poss.-Acc. eat-Pr.Indef. cheese-Poss. so sweet.

tasty, and its cheese is so sweet.

üy bo-nı gaylap al-dı-gar gaday de-p sura-ar irgin.

hey this-Acc. how take-Pst.-1.pl. auntie say-Ger. ask-Pr.Indef. particle

"Hey, auntie! How did you get this?" he asks her.

oy äkem bo men-iŋ tege-m-niŋ sidi-i süt bol-ur, mıya-a

oh, my dear that I-Gen. he-goat-1sgPoss.-Gen. urine-Poss. milk be-Pr.Indef. dung-Poss.

"Oh, my dear, the urine of this goat of mine becomes milk, and its dung becomes

aaršı bol-ur. oo de-p, kur-u-ŋga oraa-p al-gaš xara

cheese be-Pr.Indef. oh say-Ger. sash-3sg.-Poss.-Dat. wrap-Ger. take-Ger. black

cheese." Saying "Oh!", he wraps it up in his sash, takes it and brings it to the Khan

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xattı xaan-ga apar-ıp be-er irgen.

with berry khan-Dat. take-Ger. give-Pr.Indef. participle

with a black berry.

xara xattı xaan dörtön šeri-i-n edert-ip gel-ir.

black with berry khan forty soldier-Poss.-Acc. lead-Ger. come-Pr.Indef.

The Khan with a black berry comes leading his forty soldiers.

bödöne mun-up gel-geš-din xoošın-ı kıy de-p ıtta-ar irgin.

quail ride-Ger. come-Part-Abl. old lady-Acc. call-Ger. emit-Pr.Indef. particle

After he mounts his quail and comes, the Khan emits a cry :"Bring the old lady"

žılgıžı ašgıyak ge-ep kıy de-er irgin.

horseman old man come-Ger. call-Pr.Indef. particle

The old horseman comes and calls (the old lady).

žüü bol-du uglu-m de-er-de xaan siler-ni kıy de-p žıd-ır.

what be-Pst son-1sg.-Poss. say-Pr.Part.-Loc. khan you-Acc. call-Ger. lie-Part.

When she says "What is it, my son?", he says "The Khan is calling you."

ol žügö de-er. ol men-iŋ dege-m-ni kiy de-p dur ba, de-š-din

he why call-Pr.Indef. he I-Gen. he-goat-Poss.-Acc. call-Ger. stay Q. say-Part.-Abl.

Why he is calling me. After she thinks "Probably he is calling my goat (-blazed horse),"

kızıl tıt-tıŋ žardı-sı-nın seleme žaza-ar.

red pine tree-Gen. sliver-Poss.-Abl. sword make-Pr.Indef.

she creates a sword from the needles of a pine tree.

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dörtön šeri-i-n tögöle-p ortu-su-ŋga tur-ar-da dege

forty soldier-Poss.-Acc. surround-Ger. middle-Poss.-Dat. stand-Part.-Loc. goat

When she surrounds the forty soldiers and stands in the middle of them, she goes

xalžan at-ɨ-nɪn bar-gaš-dan dörtön šeri-i-n gɪr-a gag-gaš,

blaze horse-Poss.-Abl. go-Part.-Abl. forty soldier-Poss.-Acc. kill-Part. vanquish-Part.

(among them) on the horse with a goat blaze, and cuts down the forty soldiers and kills

tük žok ölür-e gag-gaš.

any no kill-Part. vanquish-Part

them until none remain.

xara xattɪ xaan-nɪ gag-ar-da xara xattɪ xaan-nɪŋ tayžɪ-sɪ

black with berry khan-Acc. knock-Part.-Loc. black with berry Khan-Poss. prince-Poss.

When she knocks down the Khan with a black berry, the crown prince of the Khan with

des-er irgin.

flee-Pr.Part. particle

a black berry runs away.

des-e olur-ɪp des-e olur-up xara kattɪ xaan-nɪŋ tayžɪ-sɪ-nɪŋ

run-Ger. sit-Ger. run-Ger. sit-Ger. black with berry Khan-Gen. prince-Poss.-Gen.

He runs and he runs, and because the boots of the crown prince of the Khan with a

edi-i tüš-göš-tin kek bo-p uš-a ba-ar irgin.

boot-Poss. fall-Ger.-Loc. cuckoo be-Ger. fly-Ger. go-Pr.Part. participle

black berry falls off, he becomes a cuckoo and flies away.

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kek-tiŋ daman-ı kızıl bulu olup bol-gan irgin.

cuckoo-Gen. leg-Poss. red this way be-PPart. particle

The soles of the cuckoo became red in this way.

o-nıŋ gatın-ı-nıŋ ala torga bo-p uš-a ba-ar irgin.

he-Gen. wife-Poss.-Gen. colored woodpecker be-Ger. fly-Ger. go-Part. particle

His (the crown prince's) wife becomes a multicolored woodpecker and flies away.

tıt sokta-p xara kattı xaan-nıŋ bodu des-ip olur-up des-ip

pine tree pound –Ger. black with berry Khan-Gen. self. run-Ger. sit-Ger. run-Ger.

She (the wife who is a woodpecker) pounds the pine tree and the Khan with a black

olur-up suwlu žer-ge gel-ir-de gara bodaŋ bol-gaš-dın gara

sit-Ger. watery place-Dat. come-Part.-Loc. black wild boar be-Ger.-Loc. black

berry runs and runs, and when he comes to a place with water he becomes a black

žer-ni gadır-ıp bodaŋ bo-p žo-y ba-ar irgin.

place-Acc. dig-Ger. wild boar be-Ger. walk-Ger. go particle

boar, and digs at the ground and goes along as a boar.

dege xalžan attı dektene xoočın-nıŋ murnuu-ŋga bir meyge

goat blaze with horse Dektene old lady-Gen. front-Poss.-Dat. one meyge

In front of Old Lady Dektene who has a horse with a goat blaze, a *meyge* takes a

xaya-nıŋ üst-ü-ŋge olur-up al-gaš-dın žıyt žıyt de-p ed-er irgin.

cliff-Gen. top-Poss.-Dat. sit-Ger.take-Ger.-Abl. chirp chirp utter-Ger. make-Part. particle

seat on a boulder, and begins chirping.

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žeder-iŋ-ge žed-ip al-gaš-tın men-i elek gıl-ır-ga žežžik be

reach-2Poss.-Dat. reach-Ger. take-Part.-Abl. I-Acc. fun make-Fut.Part.-Dat. reach Q.

So she says "You've already reached as far as you want to reach, and now we've reached

de-š-din, *tıt žartı seleme-si-nin meyge-ni ga-ar-da meyge-m-niŋ*

say-Ger.-Abl.pine tree sliver sword-Poss.-Instr. Meyge-Acc. hit-F.Part. Meyge-Poss.-Gen

making fun of me?" When she knocks down the *meyge* with her sword made of pine

kuduru-u-nın üs-düš-din dege xalžan at-ı-n žar-a gag-gaš

tail-Poss.-Acc. tear-Part.-Abl. Tege Kalzhan horse-Poss.-Acc. kill-Ger. hit-Ger.

needles, she tears off the tail of my *meyge* and (with it) splits in two the horse

bodun-nıŋ žaban žar-a gag-gaš.

self-Poss. colt kill-Ger. hit-Ger.

with a goat blaze. She splits in two the quail's colt (?).

ol žer-ge de-p dektene xoočın öl-üp-dür.

that place-Dat. say-Ger. Dektene old lady die-Ger.-Pr.Indef..

Old Lady Dektene dies saying "To there!"(?)

osunın meyge-niŋ kuduru-u šolak bo-p gal-gan irgin.

after this Mege-Gen. tail-Poss. short be-Ger. remain-PPart. particle

And so the tail of the *meyge* became short.

meyge-niŋ kuduru-u šolak bo-p, xara gattı xan-nıŋ bodu bodaŋ bo-p,

Meyge-Gen. tail-Poss. short be-Ger. Kara Kati khan-Poss. self. wild boar be-Ger.

The tail of the *meyge* became short, the body of the Khan with a black berry became a

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tayžısı kek bo-p, daman-ı gızıl bo-p ırgın.

crown prince cuckoo be-Ger. leg-Poss. red be-Ger. particle

wild boar, the crown prince became a cuckoo, and its soles became red,

gatın-ı torga bol-up ıyaš sogda-p uš-a bar-dur.

wife-Poss. woodpecker be-Ger. wood hit-Ger. fly-Part. go-3Pre.Indef.

his wife became a woodpecker, and flies around pounding on trees.

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Appendix B

Lexicon

This chapter contains a working dictionary of Jungar Tuva based on data collected during our field work in 1987, and my own field work in 1993 and 1995. The words in this glossary of Jungar Tuva are alphabetized as follows: a, aa, ä, ää, b, c, č, d, e, ee, g, x, i, ii, ı, ıı, ž, k, l, m, n, ŋ, o, oo, ö, öö, p, r, s, š, t, u, uu, ü, üü, w, y, z. Each entry contains the following elements: Jungar Tuva form, English equivalent and Standard Tuva source form e.g., "aas mouth (aas)." When there is no standard form, but the etymology of a form is known, this origin is given in parentheses. In the etymologies, K. = Kazak, Kr. = Kirgiz, M. = Modern Mongolian, WM. = Written Mongolian, O. = Modern Oirat, WO. = Written Oirat, KW. = Kalmuk, U. = Uygur, C. = Chinese, R. = Russian, P. = Persian, and A. = Arabic; e.g., "ozat advanced (K ozat), saasın paper (M čaʁasun), alwatti the masses (cf. M. albatu), žaŋ wall (C qiang), almas diamond (almaz < R[1]).

Concerning the Jungar Tuva forms, when more than one form is given, this means that consultants differ or vary in their pronunciation of the word. Verbs are listed in their stem form and hyphens are used to indicate the stem in entries for verbs. In some cases, there might be two or three words for one concept. These are cross-listed under each alternate form; e.g., xačı scissors, shears (xačı) (see kayčı). According to the Standard Tuva orthography, we use the sign (') to indicate the 'pharyngealized vowels'.

[1] For those Russian loan words where Standard Tuva form is known, no etymology is given.

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a

aal homeland, village (aal)

aalda- visit, go as guest (aalda-)

aar heavy, serious, difficult, expensive

(aar)

aar- ache, pain (aar-)

aarıg illness, pain (aarıg)

aarık thin, lean, skinny (arık)

aarlıg weight

aaršı a kind of dried curd-cheese

(aaržı)

aas mouth (aas)

aas žay- rinse the mouth, gargle

aasıg mountain range, pass (K.asuw)

(see ažıg)

ab- take (ab- < alıp)

aba mother (ava)

abay (vocative)

abtamawel automobile, car

(avtomobil)

ada grandpa, father, ancestor (ada)

ada-ene grandparents

ada- call, name, mention (ada-)

adaš mistress, lover, comrade (U adaš)

adıg bear (adıg)

adıl- to be(come) separated (adırıl-)

adıš palm, handful (adıš)

adres address (adres)

aga older brother (akı) (K. aga)

agaar air, weather, atmosphere (agaar)

agart- whiten, whitewash (agart-)

agay father's younger brother, uncle

see biži aga

agım current, flow (agım)

agm current, flow (K. agm)

agm suw running water

agway wife (agvay 'dear, darling')

ača ffather (ača)

ažıl work (ažıl)

ažılda - work (ažılda-)

ak white, pale (ak)

ak-kök light blue (ak-kök)

ak žigir cube sugar, lump sugar,

refined sugar (ak čigir)

akbag- take off (e.g. one's hat) (cf.

alıp kag- >apkag- >akbag-)

akkaba Akkaba (place name)

akmak stupid, foolish, idiotic (K.

aqmaq)

aksak lame (askak)

akša money (akša)

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ak-taraa wheat (ak-taraa)

al well, now, but (K. al)

al- take, acquire, obtain, get, buy (al-)

ala multicolored, colored, variegated, motley (ala)

ald under, floor (ald)

aldan sixty (aldan)

alday Altay (alday) (see altay)

aldı six (aldı)

aldınžı sixth (aldınčı)

aldınžı ay June (cf. aldı ay) (see žaynıŋ soŋ ay)

aldı bottom, below, the lower part of something (aldı)

aldın gold (aldın)

aldın-togos peacock (aldın-doos)

algı broad, wide (algıg)

alıs distant (alıs)

alžır scarf, kerchief, tablecloth, refreshment (alžir) (see dasdarxan)

alma apple (K. alma)

almas diamond (almaz)

altay Altay (altay) (see alday)

altınča Altıncha (personal name)

alwatti the masses (WM. albatu)

am now (am)

amır peace (amır)

amır-mendi health

ambar storehouse, storeroom (ambar)

ambir still, again (am+bir)

ambıl Ambil (title)

amdı now, nowadays (see am)

amırak sweetheart, lover (amırak)

amtan human being, the common people, populace (amıtan)

amtanar people (< amıtan+lar)

aŋ wild game (aŋ)

aŋgılıg special, particular (cf. aŋgı 'class; special')

aŋžı hunter (aŋčı)

aŋna- hunt, hunt wild game (aŋna-)

aptonomdık autonomous (avtonomnuk)

aptowuz bus (avtobus)

aptor author (avtor)

ara interval (ara)

aragı alcoholic drink, liquor, wine, vodka (araga)

aral island (K. aral)

aralaš- mix, mingle with, associate with, socialize with (aralaš-)

aralaštır- stir, mix together, shuffle (cards) (aralaštır-)

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aralıg distance (aralıg 'different, dissimilar')
arba barley (arbay)
ardda- step over, stride (artta-)
ardık more (K artık)
arga forest (a''rga)
arga way, means, measure (arga)
argamžı lasso, noose, lariat (argamčı)
arı bee, bumblebee (arı)
arıg clean, pure (arıg)
arın face, person (arın)
armiya army (armiya)
art backward, back (cf. atkaar)
artınan later, afterward (K.artınan)
artda kal- leave behind (arta xal-)
artıš cypress, Turkestan juniper (artıš)
artık more than, in excess of (artık)
arzalaŋ lion (arzalaŋ)
as few, little (as)
as sandık minority
as- hang (as-)
askır stallion, stud (askır)
askabak~asqawaq pumpkin (K. askabak)
aš food (a''š-žem)
aš- open, uncover, tear off, lift (the lid, etc.) (aš-)
aš hungry, hunger (aš)
ašda- be hungry (ašta-)
ašda- smear, spread, rub, wipe (a''šta-)
ašdaš hungry, hunger (cf. aš)
ašıg mountain range, mountain pass (ažıg) (see aasıg)
ašıg temperament, disposition (WM. asiғ M. ašig)
ašıg acid, sour, tart, bitter (ažıg)
ašıg suw vinegar
ašık clear, fine, open (ažık)
aškıyak elder, old man (cf. ašak)
ašıl worker (ažıl)
ašılda- work, do (ažılda)
ašılžın worker (ažılčın) (see išbäkši)
ašıtkı yeast, leaven (ažıtkı)
at name, title (at)
at horse (a''t)
at- throw, shoot (at-)
awal- (alıp al-) take, pick up
awdan county (K. awdan)
awdar- translate, turn over (K. awdar-)
ay moon, month (ay)
ay-kün date (ay-xün)
ayak bowl, cup, drinking glass (ayak)

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ayas clear (weather), fine (as a day) (ayas)

ayda- drive

aydakar dragon (K. aydagar)

ayıŋkı thunderclap, thunder

aylık wage, pay, salary (aylıg 'monthly')

aymak prefecture (K aymak)

ayrıplan airplane (aeroplan)

ayt- say, state, indicate, explain, show, talk (ayıt-)

azar surprise, amazement, wonder

azat liberation (K. azat < P.)

azıg salı beard, whiskers (azıg salı)

azıra- raise, rear, bring up (children), breed, tend (animal) (asıra-)

ä

ädebiyet literature (K. ädebiyet < A.)

ädiyal blanket (cf. K. adiyal< R.)

ädil fair (K. ädil< A.)

ädis way, method, procedure

ädet habit, custom (K. ädet < A.)

ägel- bring, (K. äkel-< alıp kel-)

äžim wrinkle

äkem my dear (K äkem)

äktip active (aktiv < R.)

äl cliff, precipice (el)

äl power, strength

äli bižii weak, powerless

älsis weak, powerless

ämdı žıl next year (kelir čılım)

änäy kid, young goat (eney)

äräy slow (ayar)

äreket movement (K. äreket < A.)

ärkandık any, any kind (K. ärqanday)

äytew anyhow (K. äytew)

b

baalık mountain pass (baalık)

baar liver (baar)

baatır hero (maadır)

badık poem (O. badak)

bagay ugly, bad, severe (of weather) (bagay)

bagıma pillar (bagana)

bagla- tie, bind, bundle up (bagla-)

baxšı teacher (bašk ı)

bak luck (K.baq)

bal honey (K. bal)

bala child (K. bala)

balaw pilaf, *palaw* (K. palaw)

baldı ax (baldı)

balık fish (balık)

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baldır calf of leg (baldır)

balgaš clay (cf. K balšık)

banke bank (banke)

bar- go, arrive (bar-)

bar there is, there exists (bar)

baraan property (baraan)

baraban drum (baraban)

baranala- rake, harrow

barı all (K. bäri)

barım west, right (barım)

bas- press, depress, step on, tread, trample, crush, suppress, make (felt) (bas-)

basa or (conjunction), and, again, more (baza)

basım step, pace (bazım)

bastır- oppress, run down (bastır-)

baš head, chief, top, beginning (ba''š)

bašday early, before (bašday)

bašdık leader, chief (cf. baštınčı ~ baštın)

bašdük hair on the head (see dük)

baška other, besides (baška)

bašgar- manage, direct, administer, govern, rule, reign (baškar-)

bašta- direct, regulate (bašta-)

bawursak bread, fritter (K. bawırsaq)

bay rich, rich man (bay)

baylık riches, wealth (baylık)

baza or (conjunction), and, again, more, also (baza) (see basa)

bazar market, fair (K. bazar < P)

bädeŋke a leather shoe (cf. R. botinki)

bälen tügön so and so, such and such, everything

be mare (be)

bede Lucerne, alfalfa (K. bede)

bedel authority, prestige (K. bedel)

bedik high; tall (bedik)

beedil condition, situation (cf. O. bäädl, cf. M. bayilda)

beižiŋ Beijing (C. **Beijing**)

bel waist (bel)

belek betrothal gift, present, bride-price (belek)

belen ready, prepared, ready-made (belen)

belet ticket (bilet)

benzin gasoline, benzene (benzin)

ber- give, afford (ber-)

berese Berese (one of the banners); title (corresponds to Manchu *beyise*, prince)

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beskek malaria, ague (K. bezgek)

beš five (beš)

bešenži fifth (cf. beški)

bešenži ay May (cf. beš ay) (see žaynıŋ orta ay)

bešen fifty (bežen)

bey judge. Old official title (K. biy)

beyin happiness, well-being

biče little (biče)

biče kalkak teaspoon (beče kalgak)

biči- write (biži-)

bičii small, little (bičii)

bičeči secretary (bižeeči)

bišek knife (bižek)

biči-biči gradually

bil- know (bil-)

bilim knowledge (cf. bilig)

bilin- to be known (bilin-)

bilen with, together with (bile)

bilek forearm (bilek)

bilekdes bracelet (bilekteeš)

bilen with, by means of, and (bile)

bilin easy, easily (belen)

biŋši dumpling (O. beŋši)

bir one, some (bir)

biri one of them

bir dora in a short while, all at once, all of a sudden

bir žeše several (bir čeže)

bir žime something

bis blade (of a knife, ax, etc.) (bis)

bis we (bi''s)

bisder we (bisder)

bistiŋ our (bistiŋ)

biš- cut, trim, castrate, spay (biš-)

biy dance (K. biy)

biyle- dance (K. biyle-)

biyir pen (biyir)

bılgaar leather (bulgaar)

bılžı- strike fire (e.g. from a flint), kindle (see šak-)

bırak but (K. biraq)

bırakta but, however (K. biraqta)

bıš- cook, boil, bake, ripen (bıš-)

bıšgan ripe, cooked (pıšgan)

bıšig tight, taut, secure, solid, hard, durable (bıžıg)

bıšıgla- close, shut, make it firm (bıžıgla-)

bıšir- cook, boil, bake, roast (bıžir-)

bo this (bo)

bo žer here (bo čer)

bo žıl this year (bo čıl)

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bo žılın this year (bo čılın)

bo kišın this winter (bo kižın)

bod reflexive pronoun, oneself (bot)

bodum myself (bodum)

boduŋ yourself (boduŋ)

bodu himself, herself (bodu)

boduwus,bottarıwıs, bodubız ourselves (boduwus,bottarıwıs)

boduŋar,bottarıŋar yourselves (boduŋar,bottarıŋar)

bottarı themselves. (bottarı)

boda- think (boda-)

bodagan baby camel (bodagan)

bodal idea, opinion, view, objection (bodal)

bodaŋ wild boar (M. bodaŋ)

bog- tie up, close by tying, tie around, bind (bog-)

bogdu dam

bogša bundle, bunch (bogča)

bogšurga nightingale, lark (cf. M. bogsirga 'sparrow')

boxda Buddha (WM. bogda)

boxša satchel, schoolbag (K. boxša)

bože dustpan (C. **boji**)

bol- be, become, come into being, be done, be possible (bol-)

bolbas- it is not possible, not allowed

bolar these (bolar)

bolat steel (bolat)

bolat kort- smelt (steel)

bolbaday Bolbaday (name of a mountain)

bolbasa or, if not (<bol-ma-sa)

bolgan üžün because (see mžaŋgaš)

bolganı bilen though, although, whereas

bolsada though, although, whereas (<bolsa-da)

bolšug way of life

bolur de- promise, agree, reply, respond, answer

bonkit station (punkt)

boo gun, rifle (boo)

boos pregnant, conceived (boos)

boos throat (boos)

bor chalk (bor)

boraan snow storm (boraan)

borıš debt (borš)

borta here

bosaga threshold (bozaga)

boš loose, slack (boš) (see koxšak)

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bot stature, height, size, reflexive pronoun (bot)

botbum Botbum (clan name)

bödölgö bottle (butılka)

bödöne quail (bödene)

bögew dam

bögün today (bögün)

böl- divide (böl-)

bölek piece, lump, cube, chunk, (used of a slice or chunk of something) (bölük)

bölmö room (K. bölme)

bölmölüg with ... room (K. bölmeli)

böörüŋke round, spherical, globular (börü)

börü wolf (börü)

bört hat, cap (bört)

bös cloth, cotton-type fabric (bös)

bu this (see bo)

bu žıl this year

buura male camel (buura)

buda grain (K. biyday)

budu- paint, dye (budu-)

buduk branch, twig, knot (bu''duk)

buduk color, paint, dye, ink (buduk)

budukšı painter

buga canal (buga)

buga ox (buga)

buluk wooden plow

buluŋ corner (buluŋ)

bulut cloud (bulut)

burdak muddy, turbid

burgan sage, God, deity (burgan)

burgan ornı paradise, heaven

burgwat measles, small pox

buršak hail (K. buršaq)

burun before, ago, formerly (burun)

buruŋgı former, previous, ancient (burungu)

buruŋgı kün the day before yesterday

buruŋgı žıl the year before last

buruu mistake, error (buruu)

bus steam, vapor (bus)

bus- demolish, destroy (bus-)

bušar dirty, filthy (bužar)

but leg, feet, paws (but)

buyun Buyun (personal name)

buyunbat Buyunbat (personal name)

buza calf (of cow) (bızaa)

büdün whole, entire, all (büdün)

bürgök fog, mist, cloudy (bürgeg)

bürgüt golden eagle (bürgüt)

bürke- cover, fill (bürke-)

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bürkü flea (K. bürge)

büt- end, be finished (büt-)

bütür- finish, terminate, spend, used up, graduate (bütür-)

büürök kidney (büürek)

č

čaŋlıŋ salary, wage (šaŋlı)

čeček flower (čeček)

čigen hay

čıŋgıs Chinggis (personal name)

čıŋgıs xaan Chinggis Khan

čokum certainly (U. čokum)

čoŋgar Chonggar (personal name)

čürü- shave (čülü-)

čürür- have one's head shaved, have a haircut (cf. čülüttün- shave oneself)

d

da also, and, too, (particle: sentence connective clitic)

daan very, only, always, all the time (daan)

daara- sew (daara-)

daaran- do needle-work (daaran)

daaranžı tailor, dressmaker (daaranikči)

daaren officer (C. da ren)

daay uncle, mother's brother (daay)

dag mountain (dag)

daga chicken (dagaa)

gız daga hen (kız dagaa)

daga horse shoe (daga)

daga kada- nail, shoe (a horse, etc)

dagala- shoe (a horse, etc) (dagala-)

dakša wooden bowl (daška)

daktay board, plank (K. taqtay)

daktayla- lay board (K. taqtayla-)

dala plain, valley (K. dala) (see een dala)

dalay sea (dalay)

dalgan flour made from roasted wheat or millet, parched flour (dalgan)

daman sole (of the foot or a shoe) (davan)

daman kep shoes (see šakay)

damdı drop (damdı)

suw damdısı drop of water

damdı- drip (damdı-)

damır arteries, veins, pulse (damır) (see sudasın)

damžıd- transport, transfer (damčıt-)

daŋ dawn, daybreak (daŋ)

daŋ bilin at dawn, in the morning

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daŋ only; always, consistently (daŋ)

daŋka deaf

daŋnıŋ always

dara- comb; unwrap (dıra-)

baš dügün dara- comb one's hair (baš dügün dara-)

darakıšı tailor, dressmaker

darga village, settlement (darga)

darı-darı repeatedly; again and again, over and over again

das vulture; male moose (das)

dasdarxan tablecloth, refreshments (K. dasdarxan)

daš stone (daš)

daš-oruk highway, road

daša- cast, throw, abandon (daža-)

dašdında next to

dašı- carry, transport (daža-)

dašıdır- move (house) (dažıdır-)

dašta- lay stone

datar Tatar (datar)

dayak stick (cf. K tayak)

dayna- chew, masticate (dayna-)

dazıl root (dazıl)

de- say, mention, name (de-)

dee that, that one (döö)

dee žer there, that place (döö čer)

debazı a stretcher, matting stretched between two poles used for carrying earth, etc. (C. **tai ba zi**)

debežeŋ paradise, heaven (dıwaažaŋ)

debiyür fan (WM. debiyür, M. dewüür)

dedir backward, reverse, invert (dedir)

deg- reach, touch, hit (deg-)

dege he-goat (dege)

degeler they (dööler)

deget very good (M. deged~deed)

dektene Dektene (personal name)

dekter note-book (depter) (O. dekter)

delgeren flourishing, prosperous, booming (M. delgere- spread, flourish)

dem exterior

deme- support, prop up

demekorat democracy (demokrat)

deŋ equal, even, same (deŋ)

depse feeding trough, wooden basin (M. tebsi)

der sweat (der)

deresin mat, straw mat (teresin)

des - run away, flee, escape (dege-)

deš- pierce, perforate, drill, bore (deš-)

dešik hole (dežik)

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dile- look for, seek (dile-)

dilig request, wish, desire, need (dileg)

dilge fox (dilgi)

din religion (K. din > P.) (see süzük)

diŋ resemble, like

disgek knee (deskek)

diš tooth (diš)

dizig string, cluster, chain, row (dizig)

dıba Tuva (tıva)

dıba dıl Tuva language (tıva dıl)

dıbaša Tuva, in Tuva (K. tuwaša)

dıbalaša- speak Tuva (cf. tıvala-)

dıbıšık riddle, conundrum (tıwızık)

dımbas blunt, dull (dımmas)

dıl tongue, language (dıl)

dılšı linguist, philologist, journalist (dılčı)

dınıš breath, rest; quiet, peaceful (tınıš)

dıŋna- hear, listen (dıŋna-)

dıŋsıg tight, taut, secure (dıŋzig)

dıp- obtain, get, gain; find, discover (see tıp-)

dıp al- find, discover (tıp al-)

dıra- comb (dıra-) (see dıra-)

dırbıš rake (dırbaaš)

dırdık pigeon-toed, bow-legged

dırgak claw, talon, nail (dırbak)

dırgak comb (dırgak)

dırt- pull, drag (dırt-)

dıš peace, quiet (dıš)

dıšdan- rest, have a break (dıštan-)

dıt larch (tree) (dıt)

dıym squirrel (diiŋ)

dobšuur *dombra* (two-stringed, long necked lute played by plucking or by strumming). (cf. M., O. topsigur)

doburak soil, dirt (dowurak)

dodı parrot (dodı)

doga ruler, a unit of length (1/3 of a meter)

dogu- knit, weave (cf. K. toqı-)

doklat report (doklad)

doldur- fill (doldur-)

dolga- twist, wring, squeeze, compress (dolga-)

dolu filled to the brim, packed full (dolu)

dolug plump, chubby, packed full (dolı)

domak word, speech (domak)

domaktan- speak, converse (dowurak)

don fur-lined jacket, outer lambskin

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garment with wool lining (ton)

doŋgılak sogna onion

doŋgırak razor, shaving knife (doŋgırak)

doŋgırak bäki penknife

doora horizontal, transverse, across (doora)

doora- cut, slice (doora-)

dopan chaff, husk (e.g. from threshed grain) (topan)

dopžılap briefly, concisely, succinctly (dopšı)

dopšı button (dopšu)

doš ice (doš)

doy wedding, joyous occasion, happy event, feast, banquet (doy)

doyla- feast; arrange a feast (doyla-)

doylık betrothal, gift, bride-price

dödö directly (M. döte)

dökörök the monetary unit of Mongolia, used as equivalent of Chinese yuan (M. tögörig)

dölgüür key, wrench (dülgüür)

dönön four-year old horse (dönen)

dörbölžin square (dörbelčin)

dörbölžinnig square (room)

dört four (dört)

dördünži fourth (dördünči)

dördünži ay April (cf. dört ay) (see žaynıŋ bašıg ay)

dört žüs four hundred (dört čüs)

dörtön forty (dörten)

dörtdıŋ biri one-fourth

döšök bed, cotton-padded mattress (dožek)

döšök kirlik bed sheet

dudum bundle, bunch, sheaf (tudum)

duguruk round (duguruk)

dumaa nasal mucus, snivel (dumaa)

dumžuk nose (dumčuk) (see xaay)

dumžuk gırı bridge of the nose (dumčuk kırı)

duŋgulak grain (measure used of grain-like things)

duŋgulak yaš rolling pin

duŋgön Hui (Chinese Muslim) (K. duŋgön)

duŋma younger brother (duŋma)

dur- stand, be on one's feet, live, dwell, be placed, stay (dur-)

dušak hobbles (e.g. horses) (dužak)

dut ~ tut- seize, grab, grasp, take, hold (tut-)

duyura crane (duruyaa)

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duyug hoof (duyug)

duz salt (dus)

duzdu salty (dustug)

düün yesterday (düün)

dük wool, fur, hair (of animals) (dük)

dükür- spit (dükpür-)

dükürük spittle, spit

dül- stew (dül-)

dün night (dün)

düne at night (düne)

dündük skylight (dündük)

düŋmök hip, thigh (döŋmek)

düŋnülge experience

dür- roll up (dür-)

düš noon, midday (dü''š)

düš dream (düš)

düš- fall, drop, come down (düš-)

düšten muruun in the morning, before noon

düšten soŋgaar afternoon

e

ebeeš little, not much, few, not many (eveež)

ebeešde- decrease, diminish, decline, go down (eveeže-)

ebeešed- reduce, decrease, lessen (eweežet-)

ed betrothal gift, bride-price, property, goods (et)

edek hem, flap (of a skirt), flap (of a garment), foot (of a mountain or a hill), edge, rim brink (edek)

edek köylöŋ skirt

edert- lead, bring (edert-)

edik boot, shoe, footwear (idik)

edikši shoemaker, cobbler

ee owner (ee)

öw eesi host, house owner

ee bol- possess (become the owner) obtain, get, gain

eemese or

een empty, uninhabited (een)

een dala unowned, uninhabited, wilderness, the wilds (cf. WM. tala)

een šöl unowned, uninhabited, wilderness, the wilds, desert (šöl)

eer curved, lop-sided, crooked, askew, slanting (eer)

eer- twist, spin (eer-)

eešigey cheese (eežegey)

egiči elder sister (WM. egeči)

egeŋnet- nod

egin shoulder (egin)

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eginne- carry on the shoulder, shoulder (eginne-)

ežey grandpa (see ulux aža)

ežey uncle, father's elder brother (see ulux ana)

ekeli merit, strong point, virtue

eki good (eki)

eki gör- like, love

elder comrade

elek fun, mockery (M. eleg)

elek gıl- make fun of, poke fun at

elektir electric (elektrik)

elektir žırtıkı electric light

elge- sift, sieve, screen, riddle (elge-)

elgek sift, sieve (cf. elgeeš)

elik roe deer (elik)

elžedir- look after, take care, feed

elžigen donkey (elčigen)

elši ambassador (elži)

eltiri lambskin

em medicine (em)

em got- drip, put drops (in the eyes)

emes not, negative copula (ewes)

emese or (K. nemese)

emil pit, stone

emig breast (emig)

emži (medical) doctor, physician (emči)

ene grandma (ene)

ener žıl last year (enir čılın) see ötken žıl

eŋ most (indicating the superlative degree), the very (eŋ)

eŋ ada last

epdešdirip carefully, by any means necessary

er man, husband (er)

er kiši man, male (er kiži)

erbenžik spider (eeremčik)

erde ~ erte early (erte)

erge free will, will, freedom (erge)

erge- free, give freedom (erge-)

erig edge, fringe (erig)

erin lip (erin)

eripiše companion, mate, partner

erke old (erki)

erken threshold, doorstep (erken)

erkin unconstrained, free (K. erkin)

erkindik liberty, freedom (K. erkindik)

erlig courage heroism (cf. K. erlik)

erlik kan hell, inferno (the country of Erklig Khan, the underworld) (erlik oranı)

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erte early (erte)

ertem learned, scholarly, knowledge, studying, learning (ertem)

erten tomorrow (erten)

esep account (K esep)

esepdä- calculate (K esepte-)

eš friend (eš)

eši one's friend

eš- twist, spin; row, paddle (eš-)

ešik door; room (measure word) (ežik)

bir ešik öy one room

ešter- take a bath, swim (ešter-)

et- make, do (et-)

et meat (e''t)

eteš cock, rooster (K. äteš)

ezep calculation, arithmetic (see esep)

ezep šot abacus

ezer saddle (ezer)

ezir eagle (ezir)

g

gabay cradle (kavay)

gada- place, build, sew on (a button, etc.), nail (kada-)

gadak- nail (kadag)

gaday auntie

gag- lay, put, place, build, erect, leave, pave, apply (to a surface) (gag-)

gaža enclosure, corral, livestock pen (kažaa)

gak- knock, hit, pound, bang, defeat, conquer, vanquish, win, throw (xak-)

gakda- toast, bake (kakta-)

galbak flat, sheet (kalbak)

gal- remain, stay, be left (cf. kag-)

galbı leaf

galžı lunatic, madman (cf. kalčaa)

galgak dustpan (kalgak 'ladle, scoop')

ganžaar 1.no matter how much, how many, much; 2. how, in what way (kančaar)

gaŋbi pen (C. gangbi)

gapšagay quick, nimble, agile (M. ʁapsigai, WM. gabsigai)

gara spring, source (of water)

gara aŋ marten

garbız watermelon (arbız)

garıš span (measure by hand-spans) (karıš)

gaššır scarf, kerchief

gatın wife (kadın 'lady, queen')

gawlen Chinese sorghum (K. gäwlen <C.)

gayganžıg surprise, amazement,

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wonder (kaygamčık)

gaylap how

gaz- dig, excavate (kaz-)

gäzet newspaper (K. gäzet <R.)

gedel pail, bucket

geder until, up to

gel- come, come here (kel-)

geler coming (kelir)

geler žaym next summer (kelir čaym)

geler žıl next year (kelir čilin)

gene only, just (K. ʁana)

geŋkirge drum (cf. M.keŋgerge)

geŋsirik bridge of the nose (see xaaymıŋ gırı and dumčuk gırı)

gerbiš brick (K. kerpiš)

gerel light, sun light (xerel)

gereldig light, radiant (xereldig)

ges- cut, slice, saw (kes-) (see kes-)

geš skin (keš)

geše difficult, hard (kežee)

get- wear, put on (clothes or hat), dress (ket-)

gez time, instance (K. kez)

gidis felt (kidis)

gilem carpet, rug (K.gilem) (see kilem)

gir- enter, enroll (kir-)

girbik eyelash, eyelid (kirbik)

gišen hobbles (e.g. horses) (kižen)

giši human being, man, person, people (kiži)

gıl- do, make, perform (kıl-)

gıldır as

gır edge (kır)

gır- kill, destroy, annihilate, massacre, wipe out (kır-)

gırın belly, stomach, abdomen (xırın)

gıškırım (unit of length equal to 1067 meters) (cf. K. šakırım)

gız female (e.g. animal) (kıs)

gız- bite, snap at (kıs-)

gožuun banner (the common people), populace, administrative unit (košuun)

goŋgutu Gonggutu (place name)

gorbılday parrot (cf. M. gurguldai 'nightingale')

gorgala- carry on the shoulder, shoulder

gorža- surround, encircle, enclose, shut in a pen (K. korša-)

goržaar fence, circle, pen, fold, sty sheepfold

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gorga- dry (kurga-)

gort- dry (kurgat-)

goš per two, twin, pair (koš)

got- put (kut-) (see em got-)

göbörüŋ ~ göwörüŋ bridge (kövürüg)

göböy ~ göwey many, much, more, a lot (köp)

gödür- lift, raise, carry, promote (ködür-)

gögüže- grind

gök blue (of sky, eyes, paper, etc.), green (grass, leaves, hay etc.) (kök)

göp-gök very blue

gök suw alagak Kök Suw Alagak (place name)

gölžürgenë pigeon, dove (M. kögülǰirgene)

göp many, most, a lot

göpü most of

gör- see, look at, read, watch, consider (kör-)

duš kör- have a dream, dream

görünžük mirror, looking glass, window (körünčük) (see terize)

göš- leave, go away, move to (köš-)

göšöge curtain (gözege)

göšür- relocate, cause to migrate (közür-)

gulak ear (kulak)

gurmustu God of heaven, God of sky; sky (kurbustu) (see kurmusdu)

guša armful (kužak)

gušakda- put one's arms around, take in, embrace, encompass, hug (kužakta-)

gut- pour, pour out, cast (kut-)

gürün country, state (kürüne)

güdää son-in-law (küdää)

güs autumn, fall (küs)

güsdüŋ bašıg ay July

güsdüŋ orta ay August

güsdüŋ soŋ ay September

güse- wish (küze-)

güske mouse (küske)

güsöl desire, wish (küzel)

güš force, strength, might (küš)

güš-bile with force, forcefully (küš - bile)

güzün in autumn, in (the) fall (küzün)

x

xaan khan, emperor (xaan)

xaay nose (xaay) (see dumžuk)

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xaba Kaba (county name)

xaba awdanı Kaba County

xabık ~ xawık skin, peel, shell (xavık)

xablan leopard, panther (K. qabılan)

xačı scissors, shears (xačı) (see kayčı)

xadaq balance, scales, Chinese unit of weight (1/2 kilogram) (see žiŋ)

xadıır sickle, scythe (kadıır)

xadık health, healthy (kadık)

xadıkšıl health (kadıkšıl)

xadır straight, vertical

xa-duŋma relatives (xa-duŋma)

xak- strike, beat, knock, crush, pound (xak-) (see gak-)

xak ski (xaak)

xalay tin (K. xalay)

xalga door (M. xaalga)

xalı- jump, leap, sprint, bounce (xalı-)

xalžan birth mark, blaze, (horse) with a white blaze on the forehead (kalčan)

xan blood (xan)

xanas Kanas (lake name) (K. xan)

xanas awıldık Kana village

xandala bedbug (K. qandala)

xanzu Han Chinese (C. Han zu) (see kıdat)

xanzuša Chinese, in Chinese

xap bag, sack (xap)

xar snow (xar)

xarakan-gurt centipede

xaramžı stinky, miserly, mean (WM. xaramči)

xarayaš ~ karayaš elm

xarkanoru the Milky Way

xarııl planer, plane scraper (M. xaruul)

xarılıg sturdy; robust

xaržak drawer (xaaržak) (see suwurma)

xarlıkašswallow (K. qarlıʁaš)

xars loan (K qarız)

xartıga falcon, hawk (xartıga)

xaš jade (xaš)

xašar mule (K. qašar)

xawak eyelid (xavak) (see kabak)

xawan swine, pig (xavan) (see qaqay)

xaya cliff, precipice, rock (xaya)

xayık boat (K qayık) (see xeme)

xaym- boil (xaym-)

xaymdır- boil, bring to a boil

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(xaymdır-)

xeme boat (xeme) (see xayık)

xıl string (of a musical instrument), bowstring (xıl)

xıraa frost (xıraa)

xıyır slanting, tilted, inclined (xıyır)

xoo ~ goo straight, vertical (M goo)

xoočın old lady (xuučun 'old')

xobın melon (see kawen)

xobogan butterfly (xowagan) (see köbelek)

xoču story, tale (see tool)

xožu žikir granulated sugar

xol hand (xol)

xoldın xolga from hand to hand

xolga geldir- obtain, get, gain

xolžadır umbrella (qolšatır)

xom Kom (village name)

xomgan pitcher, jug (kumgan)

xommalga Hommalga (place name)

xon- spend the night, stay overnight, settle, perch (e.g. birds) (xon-)

xonak guest, visitor (K xonak) (see xunaža)

xonak bol- be a guest (K. konak bol-)

xonak öw guest room (K. konak üy)

xoŋ after all

xoran sogna garlic (M sogna)

xorganıs national defense (K qorganıs)

xortaŋ a meat and potato stew

xošuun tribe, entity, region, military or administrative unit (UM qosijun)

xoy sheep (xoy)

xoyug rafter (roof poles of a yurt)

xuul law (xooylu) (see zaŋ)

xubıskal revolution (M qubisqal) (see kimiŋ)

xuda parents of one's daughter-in-law or son-in-law; relatives by marriage (kuda)

xudma Hudma (Mongolian alphabet)

xudurga crupper, strap which passes under the tail of a horse (M qudurga)

xužat document (K. kužat)

xulur flour (M. gulir)

xulur buda noodles, scraps

xulur daktay kneading or chopping board

xunaža guest, visitor (see xonak)

xušgaš house sparrow, skylark (kuškaš)

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(see kuškaš)

xün sun; day (xün)

i

iile- use, make use of, employ, apply

ižen belly, stomach (ižin)

ikanomika economy (ekonomika)

inë needle (ine)

inek cow (inek)

inelik dragonfly (inelik)

ini younger brother (K ini)

iŋä cry of a baby or an infant

iŋgen female camel (iŋgin)

ippök hoopoe (itpik)

irbiš leopard, panther (irbiš)

irgin apparently, it would seem that, particle (irgin)

irgit Irgit (clan name)

ak irgit white Irgit

kara irgit black Irgit

iste- do, make, perform (iste-)

istet- use, make use of, employ, apply (iste-)

iš work, labor, job (iš)

iš gıl- do physical labor, work

išge as- work (K. iske as-)

iš inside (iš)

iš- drink, eat (iš-)

išdäkši worker (see ažılčın)

išdi inside, within (išti)

iškeer inward, inside (iškeer)

it- push, shove (it-)

iye yes (iye)

iyi two (iyi)

iyinči second (iyinči)

iyineŋ biri half

iyigat pregnant (iyi kat)

iyik aspect, respect, side

izig hot (izig)

izir- bite, bite off (ızır-) (see ızı-)

ı

ıxtisat economy (U. ıqtisa)

ııt sound, voice (ııt)

ııtta- make sound, emit, utter (ııtta-)

ında there (location) (ında)

ındıg that, of that kind, like that, such, so (ındıg)

ındıg bolsa da but (ındıg bolza-daa)

ındıg užun so, therefore, for that reason

ınžalsa but (ınčalza)

ınžalsada but (ınčalza-daa)

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ɯžangaš therefore, so, and so, thus, then, because (ɯnčangaš)

ɯžangašdɯ therefore, so

ŋgay always, only (K. ŋgay)

ɪr song (ɪr)

ɪrak far, distant, remote (ɪrak)

ɪrla- sing, sing the praises of, extol, eulogize (ɪrla-)

ɪmɪraa mosquito (ɪmɪraa)

ɪš smoke (ɪš)

ɪt dog (ɪt)

ɪyaš tree, wood (ɪyaš)

ɪyaš measurement of capacity (10 liters)

ɪyaššɪ carpenter (ɪyaščɪ)

ɪzɪ- bite, snap at (ɪzɪr- 'bite') (see izir-)

ž

žaa new, tender, delicate (čaa)

žaa žɪl New Year's Day (čaa čɪl)

žaagay pretty, beautiful, very satisfactory (žaagay)

žaagay žem condiment, seasoning, flavoring

žaar wound, injury (čaar)

žaaškɯ rain (čaaškɯ)

ža bow (ča)

žabaa ~ žawaa one-year old horse (čabaa)

žabɪs-žawus low, short (čawɪs)

žadɪr tent (čadɪr)

žag dɪba Zhag Tuva

kara žag dɪba Kara Zhag Tuva

sarɪ žag dɪba Sari Zhag Tuva

kadar žag dɪba Kadar Zhag Tuva

žagarɪ high, top, government (K. žoʁarɪ)

žagday situation, condition, circumstance (K. žaʁday)

žagɪ post, pillar (ča''gɪ)

žagɪr- rule, govern, reign, wield power, conquer (čagɪr-)

žašɪr- hide, conceal (čažɪr-)

žažɪrɯn stealthily, secretly, on the sly (K žasɪrɯn) (see oorlana)

žaktɪr- like, approve (K. žaktɪr-)

žalbar- pray, prostrate oneself before the image of Buddha, worship Buddha (čalbar-)

žalder- repair, mend (cf. čalda- 'build')

žalgaa lazy, indolent, slothful (čalgaa)

žalgɪ- wave (čalgɪ-)

žalgɪg wave (čalgɪg)

žalɪɪ young fellow, young man (čalɪɪ)

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žalpı general, common (K. žalpı)

žama- mend, darn, patch, repair (čama-)

žamag patch (čamaškı)

žamak trash, dirt (cf. čam 'speck of dust')

žamdıkda sometimes (čamdıkta)

žan soul, life, person, people (K. žan < P.)

žan sanı population, people (čon)

žanı- sharpen, polish (čanı-)

žanıı whetstone, grindstone (čanıı)

žaŋ wall (C qiaŋ)

balkaš žaŋ wall make of dirt

žaŋ attitude, manner, deposition, character (žaŋ)

žaŋgak walnut (K žaŋʁak)

žaŋgıs one, single, alone; isolated (čaŋgıs)

žaŋnık lightning (čaŋnık)

žap- shut, close (K. žap-)

žap žaa just now; brand new (čap žaa)

žapšır- paste, stick, glue (čıpšır-)

žar- break off, strip off, peel (čar-)

žaraa porcupine, hedgehog (čaraa)

žardı thin stick, sliver (of kindling wood), chip (čartı)

žardık half (čartık)

žas spring, springtime (čas)

žazın in the spring (čazın)

žastıŋ orta ay ortay February

žastıŋ soŋ ay soŋay March

žastıŋ šag ay~ baškı ay January

žas nickel silver (čas)

žasa- make, construct, repair (čaza-)

žasdı nickel silver

žası bud (see soyaa)

žaskı bat (časkı)

žaš tears (čaš)

žaš age (čaš)

žaštıg age of ...

žaš tender, delicate (čaš)

žaš- sprinkle, spray, spill, splash, spurt, pour, spurt, sputter, sow (čaš-)

žaša- scatter, sprinkle, strew (čaža- 'become soft')

žašdıgı outer

žašdın outer, exterior, outside

žašdır hide-and-seek (čaštır)

žaštın~daštın exterior, appearance, surface, outside (daštın)

žaštında ~ daštında near, close to, about, around, along side, side by side, next to, nearby, beside

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(daštında)

žawus low, short (čavıs)

žay- rinse, wash away, erode (čay-)

žay summer (čay)

žaynıŋ bašıg ay April (see dörtinži ay)

žaynıŋ orta ay May (see bešenči ay)

žaynıŋ soŋ ay June (see aldınči ay)

žayga- rinse the mouth, gargle, brush (cf. čay-)

žayın in the summer (čayın)

žaylak summer pasture, summer camp (čaylak) (see žaylaw)

žaylaw summer pasture, summer camp (K. žaylaw) (see žaylak)

žaysaŋ Zhaysang (place name)

žaysaŋ gölü Zhaysang Lake

žaza- make, do, repair, mend (čaza-)

žazın in spring (čazın)

žäne and (K. žane)

žärmeŋke market, fair (yarmarka)

že- eat (ži-)

žeden seventy (čeden)

žedi seven (čedi)

žedinči seventh (čedigi)

žedinči ay the seventh month, July

žedip al- reach, arrive (čedip al-) (see čet-)

žeerbe twenty (čeerbi)

žeerin antelope, gazelle (čeerin)

žegde narrow-leaved oleaster (M. žegde)

žeše how many, much, several, some (čeže)

žeše šag how long (čeže šag)

žeše bolsa-da no matter how many \ much

žeksurun disgraceful, shameful (K. žeksurun)

žem food (čem)

žem gıl- cook

žem-sigen forage, fodder, feed

žemis fruit (čemis)

žeŋ sleeve (čeŋ)

žeŋ boo pistol (see maabazır)

žeŋes moss (čiŋgis)

žeŋib al- win, beat (K. žeŋip al-) (see utıb al-)

žeŋil- lose, be beaten, be defeated (K. žeŋil-) (see utul-)

žeŋgey wife of father's younger brother, elder-sister-in-law (čeŋgey)

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žep thread, string, wire, rope (čep)

žešek flower (čeček)

žer land, earth, place (čer)

žer žar- cultivate, till, plough (e.g. land)

žes copper (čes)

žesir widow (K. žesir)

žešey alike

žet- reach, arrive, attain (čet-)

žibe- šibe thing, object, item, article, something (čüve) (see žübe)

žibele- say something

židir- till, up to, until (čedir)

žig unripe, green, raw, uncooked (čig) (see pišpaan)

žige correct, right (čige)

žixtig unusual, abnormal, strange, doubtful (čiktig)

žiik cheap, inexpensive, light (čiik)

žiŋ balance, scales (čiŋ) (see xadaq)

žiŋge thin, slender (čiŋge)

žiŋmir- cut, trim, castrate, spay

žiŋne- ram, tamp, pound (čiŋne-)

žit- lose (čit-)

žige askew, crooked, inclined, slanting

žigir candy, sugar, sweet (čigir)

žıda dagger (čıda)

žıdı- smell (čıdı-)

žıddıg fragrant, scented (of flowers, etc.) (čıttıg)

žıdıg foul, stinking, odor (čıdıg)

žıg- pile, stack, pile up, heap up (čıg-)

žıg- pick up (from the ground), collect (čıg-)

žıgıl- gather, assemble

žıgsıg fishy smell

žıl year (čıl)

žılan snake (čılan)

žılga- lick (žılga)

žılgı horse, herd of horses (čılgı)

žılgıžı horse man, herdsman (čılgıči)

žılıg warm, lukewarm (čılıg)

žımžak soft, flexible (čımčak)

žıŋ true, real (C. zhen)

žıpžır- paste, stick, glue (čıpsır-)

žır- cut off, sever, cut through, pick (K. žar-)

žırık light, bright, shiny (čırık)

žırık xün bright day (čırık xün)

žırtıkı lamp, light, lighting (čırıtkı)

žıt- lie down, rest, be situated (čıt-)

žıtar öw bedroom

žıtdı säy parsley

žıryt de- chirp

žok no, without, Neg. exist (čok)

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žokdug poor, needy (K žoqtıq)

žon- plane, scrape (čon-)

žonak saddle flap, wool saddle-pad (čonak)

žon moyın yellow weasel

žoŋgo China (C. zhong guo)

žook near, close, beside; relatives (žook)

žoon big, large, massive, think, fat (žoon)

žor- walk, set out, stroll, move (čor-)

žoruk march, excursion (čoruk)

žot- smear, spread, rub, wipe (čot-)

žotuw hoe (M ǰeetüü < C)

žosbar plan (K žospar)

žödöl cough (čödül)

žölen- lean upon, rely on (čölen-)

žön meaning, point, turn, order, direction (K. žön)

žönnün as far as, with regard to, concerning (K. žöninen)

žönnünde about, concerning, pertaining to (K. žönninde)

žu- wash, launder (čug-)

žudan a sweet dish made from sugar, sheep fat, and flour (čudan)

žuduruk fist (čuduruk)

žuga thin, flimsy (čuga)

žul- pull out, wrinkle out, uproot, weed, pick (e.g. flower, fruit) (čul-)

žumurga egg (čuurga)

žurt the masses, people, homeland, hometown, native land, country, yurt (čurt)

žurtta- live, dwell, reside (čurtta-)

žuru- draw, paint (čuru-)

žuruk drawing, painting, picture (čuruk)

žurukžı painter, artist (čurukču)

žuuga stream, brook (čooga)

žüü what (čüü)

žüü bolsa-da whatever

žübe thing (čüve) (see žibe)

žügäär woman, female

žügäär duŋma younger sister

žügäär ıt bitch

žügö why (čüge)

žügür- run (čügür-)

žügön bridle (čügen)

žüžüme what

žük luggage, baggage (čük)

žük bundle, bunch (of flowers, etc.)

žük side, direction, edge (čük)

barın žük west, the west

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(barım čük)

čöön žük east, the east (čöön čük)

murnuu žük south, the south (murnuu čük)

soŋgu žük north, the north (soŋgu čük)

žülü- scrape, shave (čülü-)

žürök heart (čürek)

žüs hundred (čüs)

žüs tümen million (see miliyon)

žütkelžiŋ hardworking, diligent, industrious (M jütkülčin)

žüktüülik strong, firm

žüü what, what kind of, what sort of (čüü)

žüzdük (finger) ring, thimble (čüstük)

žuwak ditch (WM. jubaʁ)

k

kaaršak trunk, box, case (kaaršak)

kabak eyelid (xavak) (see xawak)

kada- nail, sew on, fasten with a pin or clip (kada-)

kadar- herd, graze, look after, take care, feed (kadar-)

kaday aunt, wife of father's elder brother (kaday 'wife')

kadıg hard, stiff, tough (kadıg)

kadın lady, queen (kadın)

kadır cadre, boss (kadr)

kadıŋ birch (xadıŋ)

kažan when (kažan)

kakay swine, pig (M qaqay) (see xawan)

kakba gate (K qaqpa)

kalbak flat (kalbak)

kalbır tin can, flask, box (K qalbır)

kalkak scoop, ladle (kalgak)

bič kalkak spoon

kalıpda- steam (xalıpda- 'cover the pot')

kalta pocket, sack (K qalta)

kandıg how, which (kandıg)

kandıg bir anything, anyone

kanča how many

kančanda whenever

kansu Han Chinese (C. han zu) (see xansu)

kapsı- light a fire (kıpsır-)

kara black (kara) (see xara)

kara kat black cherry

kara oy Kara Oy (place name)

kara soyan Kara Soyan (tribe name)

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kara when (kara)

kara- belong to, be part of (K. kara-)

karak eye (karak)

karak žašı tears (karak čažı)

karak örümžük glasses

karaŋgı dark, dim, dull (karaŋgı)

karındaš pencil (karandaš)

karaktıŋ tökörüü eye socket, orbit

kas goose (kas)

kaskan food steamer (K qasqan)

kaš how much/many (kaš)

kašaa courtyard (kašaa)

kašan when (kažan)

kašanda whenever, always (kažanda)

kat berry, cherry (kat)

kat wife's relatives, in-laws (kat 'father-in-law)

kat aba mother-in-law

kat aža father-in-law

kat aga elder brother-in-law

kat ata father-in-law

kawap kebab, roasted meat (U kawap)

kawen melon (kawen)

kayda where (kayda)

kayga-look at, watch (kayga-)

kayı which (kaya)

kaym- boil (xaym-)

kayın from where (kayın)

kaylap how

kaynaar where (kaynaar)

kaysı which (K kaysı)

kayčı scissors, shears (xačı) (see xaysı)

kazak Kazak (kazax)

kazakša Kazak, in Kazak

kazakstan Kazak (kazaxstan)

kazı fat under a horse's ribs (kazı)

kazı- read, learn, find out (by reading), proofread (kazı-)

käleš rubbers, overshoes (galoša)

käresin žırtıkı kerosene lamp (kerosin čırıtkı)

käzir now, at present, soon, at once, right away, immediately (K qazir)

kebek bran (K kebek)

kebis carpet, rug (xewis) (M. kebis)

kek cuckoo (xek)

kelberlig shape, having a from (xevirlig)

kele grave clothes, shroud, cerements (Kr. kele 'an expensive fabric')

kelin daughter-in-law (kelin)

kem river (xem)

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kem few, less, worse, lack (kem)

kemčilik shortcoming, weakness, shortage, defect, deficiency (kemšilik)

keme ship, vessel (xeme)

kemir- gnaw, nibble (xemir-)

kemži- measure, estimate (xemči-)

kenderbe back (of a human being), vertebrae (xendirbe)

kendir hemp (xendir)

kenerten suddenly, unexpectedly (xenerten)

kenži youngest child, youngest offspring (of cattle) (kenče)

kep set, suit, suite (xep)

kep clothes, clothing (xep)

kes- cut, slice (kes-) (see kes-)

ketbe hoe, mattock (ketpe) (see ketmen)

ketmen hoe, mattock (K. ketpen) (see ketpe)

kerek need, require, have need of, be in need (kerek)

key some, certain (K. key)

keybiresi some, some of

kiži siege, encirclement, surrounding

kikile stutterer, stammerer

kilem carpet, rug (K. kilem) (see gilem)

kiliŋ velvet cloth (xiliŋ)

kin navel, belly button (xin, xindik)

kino movie, film (kino)

kinoxana cinema (K. kinoxana)

kiree saw (xiree)

kireli about, approximate (xire)

kirelik slow, stupid, thick

kirlik dirty (kirlik)

kirsawaŋ ~ kirsabıŋ soap (savaŋ)

kirt- ~ girt- cut, notch

kitapxana bookstore (see nom zadar)

kıdat Han Chinese (kıdat) (see xanzu)

kıdıg thimble

kıl horsehair (xıl)

kılım science (K. ʁılım)

kılın thick (kılın)

kılın bört a warm winter cap with ear-muffs

kım who (kım)

kım bolsa-da whoever (kım-daa bolza)

kımda kım anyone

kımıŋ revolution (C. gemıŋ) (see xubıskal)

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kımıs kumiss (fermented mare's milk) (xımıs)

kımıskayak ant (kımıskayak)

kımžı whip, lash (kımčı)

kırgan old man (kırgan)

kırgı- shear, clip, shave (kırgı-)

kırgıyak pheasant

kırgız Kirkiz (kırgıs)

kırıkayak centipede (K qırıqayaq)

kırın belly, abdomen (xırın)

kıržek small hoe

kıska short, brief (kıska)

kıska narrow, close, tight (of clothes) (kıska)

kıstak village, settlement, (Chinese administrative unit)(K. qıstaq)

kıš winter (kıš)

kıštıŋ baškay October (cf. on ay)

kıšdıŋ orta ay November (cf. on bir ay)

kıšdıŋ suŋkay December (cf. on iyi ay)

kıšın in the winter (kıžın)

kıškı winter (attrib.), wintry (kıškı)

kıškır- shout, yell (kıškır-)

kıy hey

key de- call to, invite, hail

kıy- cut, slice (kıy-)

kıyar cucumber (K. qıyar)

kızıl red (kızıl)

kızıl üyök Kızıl Uyök (place name)

kızmet work, job (K. kızmet)

kodan rabbit (kodan)

kodu stomach (kodu)

kodu city (M qota)

kogam society (K. qoʁam)

koxšak loose, slack (see boš)

kolduk armpit (kolduk)

komut horse-collar, yoke (xomut)

koŋga bell (koŋga)

koŋkabay Kongkabay (a derogatory term used by Uygurs when they refer to Kazaks) (U.qoŋkabay)

koša neighbor (koža)

koškar ram (koškar) (see kuša)

koyu thick, dense (xoyug) (see koyug)

koyug thick, dense (xoyug) (see koyu)

köbelek butterfly (K. köbelek) (see xobogan)

köbüŋ ~ köwöŋ cotton (xöveŋ)

kök blue (kök) (see gök)

köktogay Köktogay (place name)

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köl lake (xöl)

köldüg grand, solemn, ceremonious, populous (xöldüg)

kölör paš big kettle, cauldron

köm- bury (xöm-)

kömür coal (xömür)

kömüsge eyebrows (M. kömüske) (cf. xavak kirbii)

könžül quilt (M. könǰile) (see körpe)

könö old, ancient (K. köne)

könösün food, grain (könezin)

körekde- recite from memory (körekde-)

körögkö oyun film, movie (körögkö oyun)

körpe quilt (K köpe) (see könžül)

körüm arrogant, vain

köylögŋ shirt (xöyleŋ)

köyük Koyuk (clan name)

ak köyük Ak Koyuk

žanagaš köyük Zhanagash Koyuk

goŋgutu köyük Gonggutu Koyuk

kara köyük Kara Koyuk

kud- pour (kut-) (see gut-)

kuday heaven, sky (kuday)

kuduk well (kuduk)

kuduruk tail (kuduruk)

kulaš arm spread, span (unit of length measuring from between the ends of both arms, extended horizontally to the sides) (kulaš)

kulun colt, foal, pony (kulun)

kunan three-year old stallion (kunan)

kundus beaver (kundus)

kur belt, sash (kur)

kuragan lamb (M quraʁan)

kuržok wife

kurga- dry, become dry, dry up (kurga-)

kurgag dry (kurgag)

kurgat- dry, make dry (kurgat-)

kurmusdu heaven, sky (kurbustu) (see gurmusdu)

kurt worm (kurt)

kus- vomit, throw up (kus-)

kusgun raven (kuskun)

kusku vomiting (kusku)

kuša ram (kuša) (see koškar)

kuškaš house sparrow, skylark (kuškaš) (see xušgaš)

külžüŋ Kulzhung (personal name)

kümüs silver (K. kümis) (see möŋgün)

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kün day, sun (xün)
kün žayı sun light
kündölö everyday
kündüs daytime, during the day (xündüs)
kürää temple (xüree)
küreŋ crimson, dark-red (color of horses) (xüreŋ)
kürüš rice (K küriš)
küürük shovel (xüürek)

l

lama lama (lama)
lay mud, silt (M. lai)
läŋmän noodle and vegetable dish (U. läŋmän)
luu dragon (M. luu)
lökür proverb, saying (WM. üliger)

m

maabazır pistol (see žeŋ boo)
mada fabric, cloth (K mata)
magamut stature, height, size (magabot)
mažak stalk (wheat), specula, ear (of corn) (mažak)
mal livestock (mal)
maldıg with livestock
malčı herdsman (malčın)
mančiŋ Manchu Qing (C. man qing)
manžu Manchu (C. man zu)
manžu čiŋ Manchu Qing (C. man qing)
maŋnay forehead (maŋnay)
marga bızaa two-year old ox
materiyal material (material)
maymıl monkey (K maymıl)
mäži soft leather boots worn inside the house (K mäsi)
mändi meat dumplings, steam stuffed bun (K mänti < C)
mäselen for example (K. maselen)
mäšine car (mašina)
mäyke vest, singlet, T-shirt (mayka)
mečin monkey (meči)
mee brain (mee)
mee žok brainless, stupid
meeŋ my (meeŋ)
mege false, lie, fake, wrong, sham, phony, artificial (mege)
megele- lie, make false statement (megele-)
megeši liar (megeči)
mektep school (K. mektep <A.)
men I (men)

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mendi safe and sound, healthy (mendi)

mes steep, precipitous

mešbet jacket (K. bešpet < R)

mešel backward, less developed (K. mešel)

mešit oven (K. mešit)

metir meter (metr)

meyge *Meyge* (name of an animal or a bird)

meyräm holiday, festival, celebration, ceremony (K meyram)

meyren Meyren (one of the banner); originally a Manchu title/rank.

meyren gožuun Meyren banner

miliyon million (million <R) (see žüs tümen)

milgire- throw

min- mount, ride (mun-)

mindet duty (mindet)

mınaar here(direction) (mınaar)

mınaartan thence (mınaartan)

mında here (mında)

mınday such, one such, this kind (K. mınaday)

mındıg this kind (mındıg)

mıŋ thousand (mıŋ)

mıŋ bir one thousand and one

mıŋgaštın curb, rein, halter (muŋgaš-dın)

mıršak hail, beans (K. buršak) (see möndür)

mıs cat (K. mısıq)

mıyak excrement, dung, droppings

mıyıs horn (mıyıs)

mıysalı for example (K. mısalı)

moma steamed bun, steamed bread (K. moma)

monža public bath (K monša)

mončak Monchak (ethnonym and banner name)

mončakta- speak Monchak

monšuu this much, as much as this (K. munša)

mool Mongolian, Mongol (mool)

moolša Mongolian, in Mongolian

moyun neck (moyun)

möndügöy Mondugoy (clan name)

möndür hail (M möndör) (see mıršak)

möŋgün silver (möŋgün) (see kümüs)

mör seal, stamp (K mör < P)

möyireŋ Moyireng (title)

mu *mu*, a unit of area equal to

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0.0667 hectares (C. mu)

mugalım teacher (K. muʁalim< A.)

mušuk snub-nosed (cf. K. pušık)

mun- ride, horseback, ride a horse (mun-)

muŋgara- be sad, be distressed (muŋgara-)

muŋgaranžıg sadness, melancholy (muŋgarančıg)

muŋgak stupid, foolish, idiotic (cf. muŋgak 'sensitive, touchy')

murgu drill, auger (K. burgu)

murnuu front, south (murnuu)

murun nose (murnu)

mün soup, broth (mün)

n

nagan hand gun, revolver (nagan)

nak exactly, precisely (K. naq)

nan bread (K. nan < P)

nar one-humped camel, dromedary (K. nar)

narın pastry and meat dish with broth (K. narın)

nasos pump (nasos)

negä marriage, matrimony (K neke)

negis base, basis, foundation (K negiz)

negisgi main, basic, fundamental (K negizgi)

negizdel- be found, based, established (K. negizdel-)

nemire grandchild (K. nemere)

nerbe nerve (nerv)

nogaan green (nogaan)

noxta halter (i.e. for animals) (K. noqta)

nom book, lesson (nom)

nom-erdem education

nom zadar bookstore (see kitapxana)

nomna- read, study (cf. M. nomla- < nomna- 'teach, preach')

nomnad- teach, preach (M. nomla-)

nomšu - read, study (nomču-)

nomšud- teach (nomčut-)

norma norms, standards (norma)

nota music notes (nota)

nöl zero (nöl)

nömür number (e.g. room, phone) (K. nömir)

nürlüg glory, honor, credit (nürlüg)

o

obulıs region, district (oblast)

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obur attitude, manner, bearing (ovur)

oda- weed, hoe (K. ota-)

oda- heat (oda-)

odun- wake up (odun-)

odur- cut, chop, hack (odur-)

ok bullet, arrow (o'k)

okša- kiss, love (oška-)

okuwšı pupil, student (K. okuwšı)

ol he, she, it (ol)

olar they (olar)

olža a find, loot, booty (olča)

olur- sit down, sit, settle down, live (olur-)

oluruš traditional banquet, gathering (K. otırıs)

olšu this kind

on ten (on)

on bir eleven (on bir)

on iyi twelve (on iyi)

on üš thirteen (on üš)

on dört fourteen (on dört)

on aldı sixteen (on aldı)

on žedi seventeen (on čedi)

on ses eighteen (on ses)

on tos nineteen (on tos)

on mıŋ ten thousand (see tümän)

onson then, after, also (onson)

onun then, and

oŋ right (oŋ)

oŋ- fade, lose color (oŋ-)

oŋay easy, simple (K oŋay)

oŋžala- count (ončala-)

oo oh

ool son, boy, child, kids (ool)

oglu his/her son (oglu)

oola - ascend, rise up, walk (oola-)

ooŋ his, hers, its (ooŋ)

oor thief, burglar (oor)

oorga back (oorga)

oorlana stealthily, secretly, on the sly (see žažırın)

ooršak Orshak (tribe name)

oorši thief, burglar (ooržu)

ooson after that (ooŋsooŋ) (see onson)

or- cause to tear, tear up, break (or-)

oraa- roll up, wrap up, bandage, encircle, surround (oraa-)

oraalaŋ sly, crafty, cunning, tricky (M oraalaŋ)

oraam bundle, spool (e.g. thread) (K oram)

oray toward evening, at nightfall, at dusk (oray)

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ornalaš- be settled, placed, be located, situated, lie (K. ornalas)

ornat- establish, install (ornat-)

ortu middle, half (ortu)

oruk road, way (oruk)

oruk torn (oruk)

oru place, bed (orun)

orus Russian (orus)

ot fire (ot)

ot grass, herb (o''t)

oy hey

oygur Uygur

oylat- chase away, drive, chase (oylat -)

oyna- play (oyna-)

oyun game, joke, prank (oyun)

oyunžuk toys (K. oyınšık)

ozat advanced (K. ozat)

ö

öböy infant, baby (cf. öpey 'lullaby')

ödö very, too, quite (K. öte)

ödürük duck (ödürek)

ögü eagle owl (ügü)

ökpe lung (ökpe)

ökpe-baar giblets (ökpe-baar)

ökül injector, injection (K. ölkil)

ökül deputy, delegate, representative (K. ökül)

özin forearm (özin)

öl- die, pass away (öl-)

ölbes immortal (ölbes)

ölim death (ölim)

ölür- kill (ölür-)

önörkäsip industry (K. önerkäsip)

öŋ color (öŋ)

öŋgä friend

öŋnü colored, beautiful, pretty (öŋnüg)

öörönökšı apprentice, disciple, pupil, student (ööренikči)

öörün- learn, study (öören-)

ööret- teach (ööret-)

öörü- be happy, glad (öörü-)

öörüškü happy, glad, pleased, cheerful, joy (öörüškü)

ööš gullet, throat (ööš)

örgün width

öröme cream, curd (öreme)

ört fire (ört)

örtök price, cost (örtek)

örü vertical, upright, perpendicular, upward (örü)

örü- braid, plait one's hair, weave (ört-)

örük apricot (ürük)

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ös- grow, grow up, increase, rise, go up (ös-)

ösküs orphan (ösküs)

öš spite, malice, resentment, offence, revenge, vengeance (öš)

öš- dissipate, be extinguished (e.g. fire), die out, fade away, go out (öš-)

öšür- erase, extinguish (öšü-)

öšürgüš eraser (K öširgiš)

öškü goat (öškü)

öt bile, gull (öt)

öt- penetrate, get into, leak (into), seep (into), pass, cross (öt-)

ötkür- pass, live

ötkür sharp, acute, keen (ötkür)

öw home, house (ög)

özbek Uzbek (özbek)

özgör- change (ösker-)

özüm interest (özüm)

p

paga frog (paga)

pamidor tomato (pamidor)

par tiger (par)

par two, twin, pair (K. par)

partiya party (partiya)

paska hammer (paska)

pasport passport (pasport)

paš bowl (iron), kettle, cauldron (paš)

paššı cook, chef (paštančı)

patša emperor, king, czar, tsar (K. patša)

payda profit (K. payda)

pilosopiya philosophy

piš- cut, trim, castrate, spay (bıš-)

pıs- boil, cook, bake, ripen (K. pis-)

pıšpaan unripe, green, raw, uncooked (čig)

pıyma felt boots (pıymı)

pozatsıya attitude, manner, bearing (pozitsıya)

pukara masses, people, populous (K. buqara)

s

saadak quiver (saadak)

saaskan magpie (saaskan)

saasın paper (saazın)

saasın kuš kite

saat~sagat hour, time (K. saʁat)

saba- strike, hit (sava-) (see sawa-)

sabıl wooden bowl, big wooden vessel (sawıl)

sabıŋ ~ sawıŋ straw (savaŋ)

sadıg commerce, trade (sadıg)

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sadıg öw shop, store

sadıgšı trader, businessman, merchant, dealer (sadıgži)

sag- milk (sag-)

sagat~saat watch, clock, hour (K. saʁat)

sagın- remember, recall, recollect (sagın-)

sak grain (sak)

sakta- keep, protect, maintain, preserve

sal- fill, ladle, put, place (sal-)

sal moustache

samawur samovar (samovar)

sambar hand (cf. M. sabar)

san count, number, numeral, numerate (san)

sana consciousness, awareness (K. sana)

sana- count, consider (sana-)

sanal- be considered (sanattın-)

sanday chair (sanday)

sarıg yellow (sarıg)

sarın Sarın (one of the banners)

sarıš idea, opinion, view, objection

sarlıg yak (sarlıg)

sarxoy sheep

sart Uygur

sarus butter, margarine (cf. saržag)

sat- sell, sell out, betray (sat-)

satıb al- buy, purchase

sawa- strike, hit (sava-)(see saba-)

sawar finger, claw, hand (WM. sabar)

sawıŋ ~ sabıŋ soap (savaŋ)

sawıŋ ~ sabıŋ straw (savaŋ)

sawıŋna- ~ sabıŋna- soap, lather (savaŋna-)

sayasat police, politics (K. sayasat)

sayasıy political (K. sayasıy)

sazıg smelly, stinking, foul

säbet soviet, USSR (sovet)

säwis carrot (K säbiz)

seek fly (seek)

seeŋ your (seeŋ)

seleme sword, saber (seleme)

semis fat (semis)

semont cement (tsement)

semontta- cement, put cement

sen you

sen- break, be fractured (sen-)

sereŋke matches (sereŋgi)

sergek light (of sleep), alert, clear-headed, sane (sergek)

seriin cool, cold (seriin)

ses eight (ses)

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sesinži eighth (seski)

sezen eighty (sezen)

sezenži eightieth (sezengi)

sidik urine (sidik)

sidikte- urinate, make water (sidikte-)

sigen grass, hay (sigen)

siir tendon, sinew (siir)

siler you (pl.) (siler)

siŋ- absorb, soak up (siŋ-)

siŋmir- blow one's nose (siŋmir-)

sirge nit (sirge)

siwe Sibo (ethnonym)

sıık shallow (sıık)

sım deer (sım)

sıır- swallow, absorb, gulp down (sıır-)

sııy bladder (sıŋıy)

sır paint (K. sır)

sırakayla- tighten

sırga earrings (sırga)

sırgak ill, sick (K. sırqat)

sırgawbul long tapered pole, part of a yurt frame (K. sırʁawıl)

sırkıš diphtheria

sırla- paint, cover with paint (K. sırla-)

sırnay fife, a woodwind instrument, trumpet (K sırnay < P)

sısdık pillow, cushion (cf. sırtık)

seske sieve, sifter

sogna green Chinese onion (soguna)

sogum horse, cattle or sheep for winter slaughter (sogum)

sogur blind (sogur)

sogus fight (soguš)

sok- beat, strike, hit (sok-)

soksok thimble (cf. čüskük)

sokta- beat, strike, hit (sokta-)

solaŋgı rainbow (solaŋgı)

solgay left (sol)

solagay left, left-hand (solagay)

soŋ end (soŋ)

soŋında at the end (K. soŋında)

soŋgaar backwards, back, after (soŋgaar)

soŋgu last, past, recent, northern (soŋgu)

soŋgu žük north

soŋgu kün day after tomorrow

soo- get cold, turn cold (soo-)

sook cold (sook)

sor- keep in the mouth, suck (sor-)

soson after, then

soy- strip, tear off, remove, slaughter, butcher (soy-)

soyaa bud (of a plant) (M soyoʁa)

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soyan Soyan (one of the banners)

ak soyan Ak Soyan

kara soyan Kara Soyan

soyul culture (soyol)

soyuwšı butcher

sögöde- kneel, sit on one's knees (sögedekte-) (M. sögöd-)

söök bone, clan (söök)

sööl wart (sööl)

sös word (sös)

sös žok certainly, definitely (K. sös žoq)

söwet soviet (see säbet)

sudasın arteries and veins, pulse (M. sudasun)

suggar- irrigate, water (e.g. cattle) (suggar-)

suk Suk (clan name)

sulu oats (sula)

sulug pretty, beautiful (K suluw)

sumun district (sumun)

sun- drag out, extend, stretch, lengthen, delay (sun-)

sura- ask, inquire, request (sura-)

surugžu pupil, student, apprentice, disciple (surukču)

suuk liquid, fluid, watery, thin (suuk)

suw water (K. suw)

suwar- water (cattle), irrigate, give sb. or sth. to drink (K. suwar-) (see suggar-)

suwlu watery, wet (K. suwlı)

suwsa- to be thirsty, thirst (K.suwsa-)

suwurma drawer (see xaržak)

sür- drive, cultivate, till, plough (e.g. land) (sür- 'drive (cattle), chase')

sürgü planer, plane (sürgü)

süt milk (süt)

süttü milky, with milk (süttüg)

süttü šay milk tea (süttüg šay)

süür hill or mountain with a rounded summit, peak, spur; sharp, pointed (süür)

süzük religion (süzük)

š

šaa collar (čaga)

šaažaŋ bowl, drinking glass (šaažaŋ)

šaakay shoes (šaakay) (see daman kep)

šag time, time period (šag)

šagaa the New Year, the Chinese Spring Festival (šagaa)

šagaala- visit friends during the New

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Years festival (šagaala-)

šažın religion (šažın)

šak- strike fire (e.g. from a flint), kindle (šak-)

šala inadequate, half, lacking, incomplete, insufficient (šala)

šala-mužuk inadequate, half, lacking, incomplete, insufficient (K. šala -pušıq)

šalbur pants, sheepskin pants (K. šalbur)

šalıŋ dew, dew drop (šalıŋ)

šalıŋ wake, pay, salary, rate of pay (šalıŋ)

šalma lasso, noose, lariat (K šalma)

šana sleigh, sled (šana)

šanžı- prick, stab (šanč-)

šap- gallop (on horseback), run (of a horse) (šap-)

šaŋ dust, dust particles (K šaŋ)

šar tsar, czar

šar- tie, fasten, bind, bundle up, wrap

šarak millet

šarı ox (šarı)

šaš- sprinkle, spray, spill, splash, scatter (K šaš-) (cf. čaš-)

šaš- prick, stab (šaš-)

šay tea (šay)

šaya scorpion (K šayan)

šäškiš egret

šeber 1. craftsman, mastery, artistic, masterful, smart; 2. clean ,pure, mastery, accurate (šever) (see šewer)

šeberle- clean, make clean (ševerle-)

šedow kitchen knife (C caidao)

šeešile- recite from memory (šeežile)

šegärä border, frontier, boundary, border area (K. šekara)

šegärälı bordered, having frontiers (K. šekaralık)

šemešey little finger, little toe

šerge grasshopper, locust (šerge)

šerig soldier, army (šerig)

šeš- untie, undo, take off(a garment), solve (problems) (češ-)

šewer 1. craftsman, mastery, artistic, masterful, smart; 2. clean ,pure, mastery, accurate (šever) (see šeber)

šiawžaŋ head of a school (headmaster, principal, president, chancellor) (C. **Xiao zhang**)

šigi like

šim- shut, close (one's eyes) (šim-)

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širbiiš broom (**širbiiš**)

širbi- sweep, clear away (**širbi-**)

širä table (M **širä**)

širikte- smooth out (**širikte-**)

šišde- toast, bake (**šište-**)

šiwžinžuyi revisionist (C. **xiuzheng zhuyi**)

šɪɪrak hard working, diligent, industrious (**šɪɪrak** 'strong')

šɪk moist, moisture, meadow, wet, damp, humid (**šɪk**)

šɪmžɪ- pinch (**šɪmčɪ-**)

šɪmžɪm a smidgen, a pinch (**šɪmčɪm**)

šɪn true, real, genuine, actual, authentic (**šɪn**)

šɪndɪk truth, truthfulness (K. **šɪndɪk**)

šɪnɪnda actually, as a matter of fact (K. **šɪnɪnda**)

šɪp- close, shut (**šip-**)

šokɪ summit (of a mountain) (K. **šoqɪ**)

šookar pockmarks (**šokar**)

šoožɪ lock, padlock (**šooča**)

šot abacus

šoylaškan earthworm (**šɪylaškan**)

šögün kettle, teapot (K **šägim**)

šöl desert, plateau, plain (**šöl**)

šöyündö intestines, bowels, guts (**šöyündü**)

šugun rule, line, a unit of length (1/3 of a meter) (**šugum**)

šuurgan wind, wind storm (**šuurgan**)

šulgak a cloth wrapped around the feet, worn inside boot-top footwear (**šuglak**)

šuluun fast, quick, rapid, right now, immediately (**šuluun**)

šulmus treacherous, crafty, deceitful (**šulbus**)

šuŋgur Shunggur (clan name)

šüür strainer, sieve (**šüür**)

t

taar large bag, sack (**taar**)

taar- rebuke, bawl out (**taar-**)

tabažak (lined or lined outer garment with wool or cotton)

tabak~tawak dish, plate (**tawak**)

tabak sole of the (foot), base, foundation (**tabak**)

tažik Tajik (**tažik**)

tal willow (**tal**)

talap request, demand, wish (K. **talap**)

talaptan- seek, demand, require (K. **talaptan-**)

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talda- choose, select, pick (dalda-)

taldab al- choose, select, pick

tamaša wonderful, perfect (K. tamaša)

tanı- know, recognize, find out, get to know, identify (tanı-)

tanıs- get acquainted, familiar, acquaint with, familiarize with (tanıžar-)

tanıš acquainted, familiar (tanıš)

taŋdı dıba Tangdi Tuva (tribe name)

taŋdı ooršak Tangdı Orshak (tribe name)

taŋma brand, seal (taŋma)

tapta- trample (K. tapta-)

taptıg sweet, honeyed (taptıg)

tar narrow, close, petty (tar)

taraŋgay Tarangkay (personal name)

tarat- issue, distribute, disseminate (tarat-)

taraa grain, flour (taraa)

taraa žer field, farmland

taraalaŋ field, farmland (taraalaŋ)

taraančı peasant, farmer (taraančın)

tarı- plant, grow (tarı-)

tarmal planted (tarımal)

tarmal guzuk sunflower (tarmal tooruk)

tart- pull, draw out, drag (K. tart-)

tartıp al- confiscate, expropriate (K. tartıp al-)

tas bald, hairless (scrubby infection on the head) (tas)

tawak dish, plate (tavak)

tawaša gur cloth belt

tawar niche, a built-in cupboard

tawar satin, fabric, goods (K. tawar)

tayga ıt hunting dog, hound (M. tayiga)

tayžı crest comb, crown prince, Tayzhi (title) (C. tai zi)

taylak 1 or 2 year-old camel foal (taylak)

tärbiye Tarbiye (personal name)

tebe camel (teve)

tebek shuttlecock (cf. M tebeg)

tebene big needle (tevene)

tegdeš hairpin

tegene basin, pot (K tegene)

teginde before, in the past, formerly (K. teginde)

tegis flat, smooth, even (K. tegis)

tegiste- make even, flat, smooth (K. tegiste-)

texnik technician (texnik)

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texnika technology (texnika)

tek only, just (tek)

tep- kick (tep-)

teyle- prostrate oneself before the image of Buddha, worship Buddha (teyle-)

temeki 1.tobacco; 2. Temeki (place name) (K. temeki)

temeki awıldık Temeki encampment

temir iron (demir)

temir xak- forge iron

temir oruk railway, railroad

ten thorn, splinter (ten)

teŋge money (K. tenge)

terek poplar (terek)

tereŋ deep, profound, in-depth, thorough (tereŋ)

teresin splendid achnatherum, feather grass, grass mat (terezin)

tergen cart, wagon (terge)

termek earrings

teerme mill (deerbe)

tizgide- kneel, sit on one's knees (cf. K tizele-)

tıgbak short in stature (tokpak)

tın life (tın)

tın azıran- live

tıp- find, discover (tıp-)

tıb al- find, discover

tıt pine tree (dıt)

tıyın coin, cent (K. tiyin)

toduu full, content (having eaten one's fill of food) (todug)

tool story, tale (tool) (see xoču)

toola- to tell, to tell tales (toolda-)

toosun dust (doozun)

tor net (K. tor)

torga woodpecker (torga)

torgu silk, silk cloth (torgu)

torgu kurt silkworm

torgun Torgun (personal name)

torlaa mountain grouse, snow cock (torlaa)

tos nine (tos)

tosan ninety (tozan)

tosanžı ninetieth (tozangı)

tosnži ninth (tosku)

tozı personal seal, signet (C. tozı)

töbe roof (K. töbe)

tödö all (tödü)

tödü bis all of us

tögörök round, circular, wheel (tögerik)

tögöle- surround, encircle, gather round

töleligči deputy, delegate,

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representative (töleelekči)

tölöy (used for a bunch of hair) tuft

töökö dictionary (töökü'history')

töör- go around (M. töör-)

töröl relatives (töreli)

töš chest (töš)

tözün~tözü all, every

tuužı epic, long poem, a narrative genre (toožı)

tug banner, flag (tuk)

tugšaš- stick in, thrust, impale

tut- seize, grab, grasp, take, hold, hold up, support (tut-)

tutkan xulur dough

tutkıš holder, handle (K. tutkıš)

tutkıšdı with a handle

tuwırga wall (M. tugurga)

tuwralı about, concerning (K. tuwralı)

tügöl all, whole, entire (K. tügel)

tük any, whatever

tükür- spit (dükpür-)

tür variety, kind (tür)

türlü various, different, assorted (türli)

türgen fast, quick, rapid (dürgen)

türüšgen compatriot, blood relatives

u

uur thyroid gland

uurak colostrum (uurak)

udasın thread, string, wire (udazın)

udu- sleep, spend the night, stay overnight (udu-)

ugaan wisdom, intelligence, intellect (ugaan)

ugaannıg intelligent, bright, clever (ugaannıg)

ugut- preach, propagate (ugut-)

uk socks, stockings (uk)

uk- understand, comprehend (K. uk-)

ula- join, link, connect, tie up (ula-)

ulanbayır Ulanbayir (personal name)

ulug big, huge, great, major, older, elder, senior, adult, grown up (ulug) (see uluu)

ulug ulus senior, elder, adult, grown up

ulus nationality, nation, state, people (ulus)

ulut nation, nationality (K. ult)

uluu big, huge, great (ulug)

uluu ažа grandpa

unun then, after that, and

unuu roof

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uraŋxa Uriangkhai (proper name)

urgumul plants (M urʁumal)

urunzokaal literature (M uranǰokiyal)

uru child, girl, daughter (urug)

uru duŋma younger sister

uru-tarıg family members, dependents (urug-darıg)

urug child, girl, daughter (urug)

urtu length

uš tip, point (uš)

uš- fly (uš-)

ušar mäžinä airplane

ušun because of, for, for the benefit of (užun)

ut- ladle out, spoon up (out), scoop up

ut- win, beat, beat, gain (ut-)

utıb al- win, beat (K. utıp al-) (see žeŋib al-)

uttur- acquainted, familiar (uttur-)

utul- lose, be beaten, be defeated (K. utul-) (see žeŋil-)

uušda- knead, limber up, rub with hands, shell, peel, pare (uušta-)

uygur Uygur (uygur) (see oygur)

uza- lengthen, become (or get) longer (uza-)

uzak long, far, far away, distant (uzak)

uzat- lengthen, make longer, extend, prolong (uzat-)

uzun long (uzun)

uzun badık epic, long poem

ü

üčü fur coat, any outer garment made of animal hide

ügüt propaganda, dissemination (K. ügüt)

ügütewe propaganda, dissemination

üžen thirty (üžen)

üžüür active (üžüür)

üle- divide, detach, distribute, assign, shuffle (card, etc.) (üle-)

ülegerči poet, story teller (M üligerči)

ülös- follow along, catch up

ün sound, voice (ün)

ün- go out, enter, go into, emerge, move (out) (ün-)

ündüsüden nationality, belonging to a certain ethnic group (ündüsüden)

ünüwe mute, dumb (ünü čok) (see dıl žok)

üŋge- crawl, creep, climb, scramble (üŋge-)

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üŋgür hole, cavity, burrow (of an animal) (üŋgür)

ür- blow, exhale (ür-)

ürgülži often (ürgülči)

ürösün seed (ürezin)

ürümži Urumchi (city name)

üs oil, butter (üs)

üs-müs oils

üsd top, surface (see üsdü)

üsdü top, above (üstu)

üs- ram, bump against, strike, tear (üs-)

üš three (üš)

üšünži third (üškü)

üürge duty (üürge)

üytgönü because, the reason is that (K. üytkeni)

üzük break, rupture, gap (K. üzük)

üzük letter, alphabet, word (üžük)

w

wagon railroad car (vagon)

waliybol volleyball (voleybol)

wanna tub, bathtub (vanna)

waŋ king, prince (C waŋ)

wobo pestilence, cholera, epidemic (K. oba)

z

zakbı chopsticks (M. sabqa)

zal assembly hall, auditorium (zal)

zan station, frontier station (C. zhan < M.)

zaŋ law, rule (K zaŋ) (see xuul)

zaan elephant (čaan)

zasık government (O. zasaq)

zawot factory, plant (zavod)

zıgır linseed (K zıgır)

zıldız star (sıldıs)

zıpda- thread (e.g. a needle) (sıpta-)

zoga wooden plow (cf. soxa)

zor big, hug, great, enormous, strong

zor sekiriw the Great Leap Forward

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Education

Ph.D. Indiana University, Department of Central Eurasian Studies, 1999
Dissertation Defense, Indiana University, Department of Central Eurasian Studies, June1998
Qualifying exams completed, Indiana University, Department of Central Eurasian Studies, July 1995
Doctoral studies, Indiana University, Department of Central Eurasian Studies, September 1991- July 1995
Doctoral studies, University of Southern California, Department of History, September 1991-May 1992
M.A., Xinjiang University, Department of China's Languages, June 1988 (Major: Turkic Linguistics)
B.A., Xinjiang University, Department of Foreign Languages, June 1983 (Major: English)

Employment

Lecturer, University of Wisconsin, Department of Slavic Languages, August 1998-date
Contract translator, Department of State, Washington, D.C. October, 1998-date
Translator, U.S.-Uzbekistan Joint Commission, Department of State, Washington, D.C. February, 1998
Translator, U.S.-Kazakstan Summit, White House, Washington, DC. November, 1997)
Contract Translator, Logos Group, Italy, July 1997-date (Kazak and Uzbek)
Registered Translator, Translation Services, Department of the Secretary of State of Canada September 1993-date (Kazak, Uzbek)
Visiting lecturer, Indiana University, Summer Workshop in Slavic and East European Languages, 1995-date (Introductory Kazak only in summer)
Instructor, Indiana University, Department of Central Eurasian Studies, September 1992-May 1994 (Introductory Uygur and Intermediate Uygur)
Visiting lecturer, Indiana University, Summer Workshop in Slavic and East European Languages, June-August 1994 (Introductory Kazak)
Visiting lecturer, Indiana University, Summer Workshop in Slavic and East European Languages, June-August 1993 (Introductory Kazak)
Visiting lecturer, University of Wisconsin, Summer Institute for Central Asian Studies, June-August 1992 (Introductory Kazak)
Associate Instructor, University of Southern California, Department of History, September 1991-May 1992 (Japanese History)

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Associate Instructor, University of Washington, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilization, June-July 1991 (Introductory Kazak)
Research Fellow and Lecturer, Xinjiang University, Institute for Central Asian Cultural Studies, October 1988-March 1991

Scholarships and Awards

Kazak Language Web Grant, University of Wisconsin, 1998-1999
Indiana University International Programs Fee Assistance Award, 1996-1997
Starr Fellowship, 1996-1997
Starr Fellowship, 1995-1996
Indiana University Graduate Fellowship, 1992-1995
University of Southern California Graduate Fellowship, 1991-1992

Research

The Consonant Cluster and Syllables in Turkic Languages, In Zhongguo minzu yuyan xuehui, (eds.) *Minzu yuwen yanjiu xintan (A New Survey of National Languages Studies)*, 274-290 Sichuan: Sichuan Minzu Chubanshe, 1992.
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A Comparative Study of the Sound Combination in Turkic Languages, *Hashi shifan xueyuan xuebao (Journal of Kashgar Teachers College)*, 3, 69-79

Collaboration

Department of China's Languages, Xinjiang University: *Hazirqi Zaman Uygur Tili (Modern Uygur Grammar.)* Urumchi: Xinjiang People's Publish House, 1996
Department of China's Languages, Xinjiang University: *Tujue bijiao yuyan xue (Comparative Turkic Linguistics)*, Urumchi: Xinjiang People's Publishing House, 1997

Editing work

Kazakh (Qazaq) - English Dictionary, Maryland: Dunwoody Press, 1994

Lectures

"Language and Ethnicity in Altay Tuva Region" Second Annual Workshop on Central Asian Studies, University of Wisconsin, Madison, October 10, 1997.

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"Language Maintenance and Shift within an Altay Tuva Community" Department of Central Eurasian Studies and Inner Asian & Uralic National Resource Center, Indiana University, December 2, 1996.
"Lexical Reflections of Sociopolitical Changes in Kazak: A Study of Borrowing" Workshop on Central Asian Studies, University of Wisconsin, Madison, October 5, 1996.
"Language Shift in Kazakstan" Summer Workshop in Slavic and East European Languages, Indiana University, July , 1996.
"Status and Interrelations in Turkic Languages" Summer Workshop in Slavic and East European Languages, Indiana University, July 20, 1995.
"Language Choice of the Kazaks in Multiethnic Societies" Summer Workshop in Slavic and East European Languages, Indiana University, July 23, 1994
"Eighteenth Century Kazak Glossary." The Permanent International Altaic Conference, 36th Meeting, Almaty, June 12, 1993.
"The Consonant Clusters and Syllables in Turkic Languages." China's 5th National Linguistic Conference, Sicuan, July, 1990.
"The Vowel System in Turkic Languages" China's 5th Turkic Linguistic Conference, Beijing, October, 1985.

Applied Experience

Founder and Director, The Kazak Society of America, Inc.

Organizer of the annual Nawriz Festivals in US, 1994-date

President, Kazakstan Students Association at Indiana University, 1994-1998

Vice-president, Tengri-Tagh Overseas Students and Scholars Association, 1994-1995

Professional Memberships

American Association of Teachers of Turkic Languages
Association for Central Asian Studies
American Association of Applied Linguistics

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